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EDUCATION:
Some Fundamental
Problems

**A. G. HUGHES AND
E. H. HUGHES**

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EDUCATION

Some Fundamental Problems

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EDUCATION

Some Fundamental Problems

A DISCUSSION BOOK FOR
STUDENTS OF EDUCATION

by

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P R E F A C E

THE extension of the course of teacher training from two to three years will bring many benefits: among them, increased maturity and more time for reading, reflection and discussion. As is suggested in the Ministry of Education pamphlet, *The Training of Teachers*, 'Philosophical questions will become increasingly prominent in the third year when some of the perennial problems of education . . . might be drawn together.'

This book has been written with these ideas in mind. It is not, however, a text-book on philosophy and its bearings on educational problems—on educational philosophy as this kind of study is often called.

The addition of subjects to the training-college curriculum would tend to nullify the advantages of the third year. Moreover, we do not think that a formal study of educational philosophy would be very helpful to students in training colleges. They, like most teachers, administrators and inspectors, and like most laymen concerned with education, are busy, practical-minded people. The popularity of some broadcast and television programmes shows, however, that many people today are interested in philosophical questions if these questions are expounded to show clearly and simply that they are closely related to everyday life, and if the exposition is supplemented by frank, informal discussion.

We are aware that we can achieve clear exposition only by running risks. Much must be simplified; much must be omitted; philosophical error may creep in, especially as we are not professional philosophers. Sophisticated readers may think that some of the simplifications, errors and omissions are serious because they might lead to misunderstanding. Non-

understanding, however, is more serious than misunderstanding; and it is worth risking much to avoid that, and the kind of boredom it inevitably produces.

The risks can be mitigated by free discussion, and we have therefore designed this book as a discussion book. Its main purpose is to raise questions for discussion rather than to give answers for acceptance, to convince readers that, important as teaching technique certainly is, there are also philosophical problems of education. These problems are fundamentally important, and everyone concerned with education should be aware of them and ask questions about them.

The purpose of the book is thus to help readers to look at education in perspective and in a comprehensive way—in the context of the intimate problems of life in the immediate social environment of which homes, schools and education offices are obviously important parts, and in the context also of the wider problems of life in a troubled, changing world.

We hope that in these ways the book will be a useful companion to our training-college text-book, *Learning and Teaching*, and that it may encourage readers to become students of some of the fundamental problems of life and education. These problems are perennial—problems of yesterday, today and tomorrow—but they have a special importance in the critically dangerous conditions of life in the world today.

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Bournemouth
February 1959

Note on new impressions. As these have become necessary, the opportunity has been taken to make small emendations to the text and, where space permitted, to suggest additional discussion topics and recent books for further reading.

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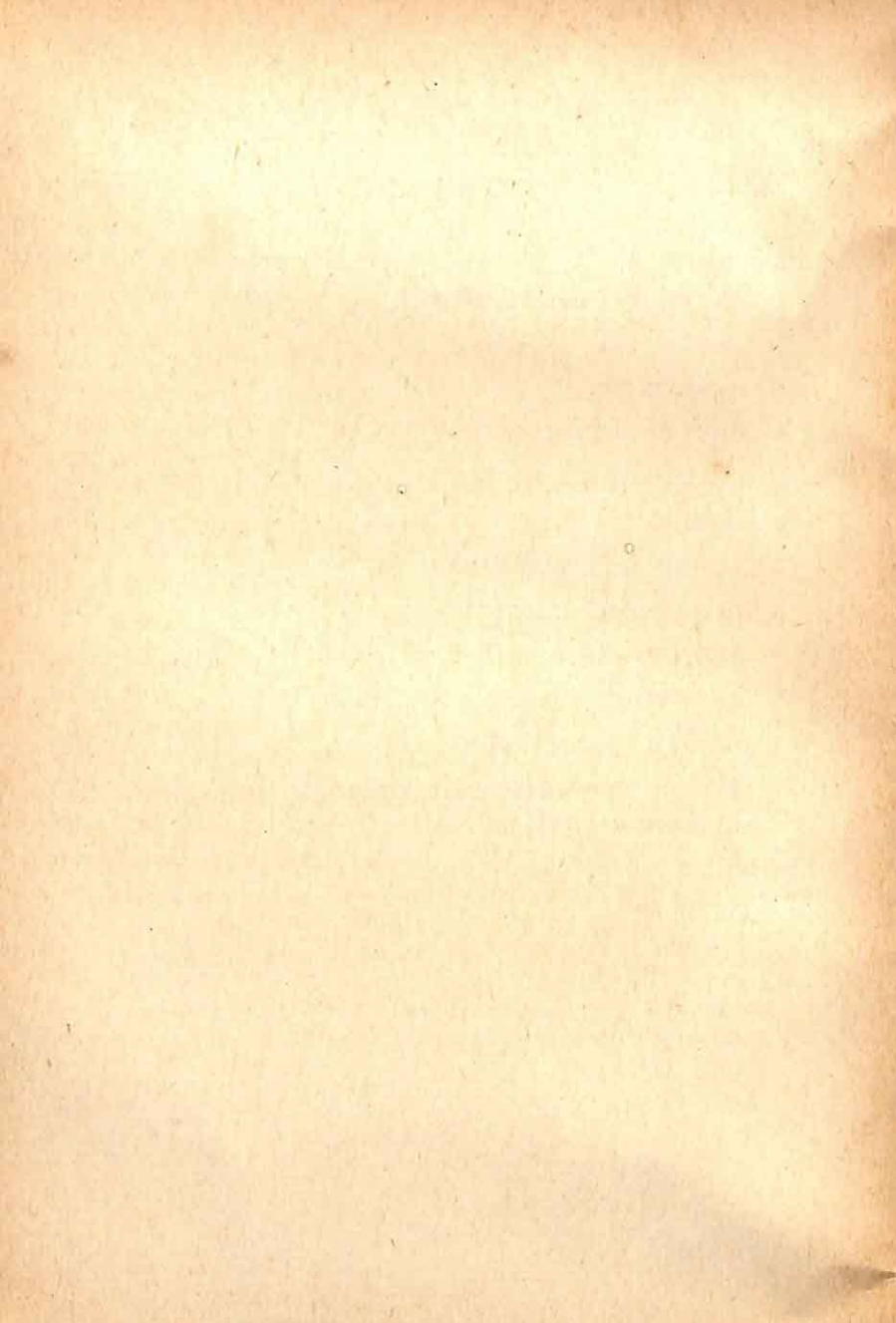
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Some use has also been made of material from lectures given by one of the authors and published under the title, *Education and the Democratic Ideal* (Longmans, 1955).



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PROLOGUE

THE development of techniques—of paper-making and machine printing, of reading and the cinema, of broadcasting and television, of teaching in schools—has resulted in a higher proportion of informed and knowledgeable people than ever before. And yet men and women have fought two world wars in this century, and still we live under the shadow of fear, cruelty and crime. Techniques in industry, developed into technologies, are reducing the need for toil and sweat, but they have opened before us a terrifying possibility of blood and tears.

Technical skills and vast accumulations of information and knowledge are among the important products of education. But with them all, something is obviously still lacking: the wisdom that would enable us to live together in peace and happiness. The problem can be seen on many scales—from the problem of family harmony to that of world peace. Ultimately it is a personal problem—the cultivation of peace of mind, for it is in the minds of individual men and women that peace begins. The search for wisdom, and the widest possible diffusion of wisdom, are more urgent than ever before. The goal of education today is to help people the world over to grow in wisdom. That is the theme of this book.

‘Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the foundations of peace must be constructed.’ *Preamble to the Constitution of Unesco.*

. . . . What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more.
Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.

Hamlet, William Shakespeare.

It needs all our imagination even to begin to frame a conception of progress in a world of increasingly intelligent and increasingly communicative individuals. . . . It would be strange if we failed to reach, in all senses, the stars. The stars are reached through steep places, and the problems of transition are great. They may take centuries to solve, they may, at our accelerating tempo, take years. The transition will be made when every individual is striving after his own freedom: from that turning-point, the new era of the universe will begin. For natural selection and cultural evolution
'gave us not

*That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.'*

Human Behaviour, Claire Russell and W. M. S. Russell.

The human animal will never achieve utopia. He need not fear this ultimate boredom. With unforeseen catastrophe, with the perils of nature, with the search for the meaning of life and the immanence of death he will always have to contend. Man's inhumanity to man, however—the countless tragedies of ignorance and misunderstanding—is preventable and he should try to prevent it if he is to continue to look away from the ape and towards the angel.

From Ape to Angel, H. R. Hays.

1

IN SEARCH OF WISDOM

EVERYWHERE around us, as the newspapers and newsreels show, there is conflicting evidence about the state of the world. We see evidence of amazing developments in science and technology; we catch glimpses of material plenty and economic security, and we wonder whether they are beacons leading us on to a life incomparably better than man has ever experienced. Are we living, we ask ourselves, in an age—a difficult age maybe—but an exciting age of transition to a better life? On the other hand, as we contemplate the sad, troubled, dangerous state of the world, we wonder whether we are living in a decadent age, in a civilization that, like its forerunners, contains the seeds of its decay.

It would be easy to paint a picture of despair. But there is obviously no place in the educational field for despairing, hopeless persons, and it may be helpful therefore to note that prophets of doom have often been proved wrong. Here are some examples:¹

Lord Shaftesbury, 1867: 'Nothing can save the British Empire from shipwreck.'

Duke of Wellington, 1851: 'Thank God, I shall be spared from seeing the consummation of ruin that is gathering about us.'

Benjamin Disraeli, 1849: 'In industry, commerce and agriculture there is no hope whatever.'

Earl Grey, 1819: 'Everything is tending towards a convulsion.'

William Pitt, 1797: 'There is scarcely anything around us but ruin and despair.'

¹ Quoted by B. Cerf, *Shake Well before Using* (Hammond).

In a papyrus in the State Museum in Istanbul there is a lament, written two to three thousand years ago: 'What a pity times are not what they used to be! Children no longer obey their parents.' It has a modern ring, and it is salutary to remind ourselves that unrecorded prophets have probably been forecasting ruin all through the ages. 'There are always worthy men,' said Sydney Smith (1771-1845), 'who bawl out death and ruin upon every valuable change which the varying aspect of human affairs absolutely and imperiously requires.'

We hear the phrase 'a rapidly changing world' so often that it is already tending to become a commonplace drained of meaning. It is therefore worth reflecting on some of the special characteristics of our time. It has been variously described: the nuclear age, the age of the jet and the rocket, of air- and perhaps space-travel, the age of the common man, of national self-determination, of interdependence, of cold war between East and West. Each description contains some truth but not the whole truth; sweeping generalizations about human problems are always unwise. The descriptions are nevertheless useful in bringing home in a vivid way the fact that the phrase 'a rapidly changing world' is no empty form of words. We are witnessing changes every decade as great as those that in historical times took centuries, and in prehistoric times took millions of years. The present is indeed so different from earlier times that it might be argued that the words of the statesmen we have quoted have little relevance today; words like 'ruin' and 'convulsion' have acquired such very different meanings.

Many people will therefore feel unable to take the quotations as antidotes to combat hopeless depression; obviously no one should take them as tranquillizers to produce comfortable complacency. Their value is rather as stimulants to provoke thought and action. This is not a time to leave affairs to depressed old men, nor yet to angry young ones. The problems of the world today are a challenge to everyone, and particularly

to those concerned with education—and few are not. If contemporary gloomy prophets, like their predecessors, are to be proved wrong, it can only be by a new access of wisdom widely diffused.

Education in Perspective

It is clear that, important though techniques obviously are both in the world and in school, there are important questions which we must ask about life and education, and that the full significance of much that is done, and ought to be done, in schools and classrooms cannot be appreciated unless education today is looked at in perspective—in the light of answers to perennial questions and in the context of contemporary world-problems.

Such a view of education is a necessary first step on the long road that leads to a right conception of its purposes and values. Such a conception is popularly called a philosophy of education. For most people it grows slowly and always remains a personal, private possession. Few are able to express it in words even to themselves, still less to explain it to others. But, no matter how seldom we philosophize about education in the hurly-burly of life, we all have some kind of educational philosophy—whether we be Members of Parliament or of County Councils; parents or employers; students, preachers or teachers; education administrators or inspectors; or voters, members of the general public, with no immediate and continuing interest in education.

A personal philosophy of education may remain buried deep in the unconscious mind, but it is nevertheless an ever-present influence on all our educational thinking and activity. That is why it is so important.

A person with an educational philosophy, in the popular sense of the term as we are using it, both feels and thinks about education. If he is a teacher, education is for him a practical

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classroom art most of the time, but he at least feels that it is something more. It has a deeper significance: it is relevant to most if not all of the important social, economic and political problems of the day. Strong feeling is important if only because it may provoke much thinking and talking, reflection and discussion, about fundamentally important problems.

Feeling, thinking and talking—continually refreshed and re-invigorated by observing and reading—these are the surest ways of developing a deep appreciation that education, both in theory and practice, is vitally important, and that present expenditure, five per cent of the national income, is not enough.

If we are to get this kind of appreciation, we must not only think about the short-term practical problems we meet with in homes, schools and education offices, but also reflect occasionally on our experience, and consider studiously what are the long-term purposes of education. As we do so, we find ourselves considering the purposes and values, not only of education, but of life itself. We become philosophers in some sense of the term.

Much has been written on philosophy. But very few people even among those intimately concerned with education—members of education committees, parents, teachers in service and in training, education administrators and inspectors—have the time or the inclination to study formal philosophy. They are all busy with practical affairs, and moreover very few have the cast of mind that makes them readily interested in the writings of philosophers. There is the additional difficulty that philosophers, like other specialists, have to use a special terminology. They generally write for other philosophers, and they do not often try therefore to explain their terminology to laymen; much of it, in any case, is beyond most laymen's comprehension. It seems to be inevitable that much philosophic writing cannot convey much meaning to non-specialist readers.

Any sentence that conveys no meaning to a reader does not, as we say, make sense; it is for him, quite literally, non-sense; and any earnest reader is frustrated and annoyed by non-sense that neither communicates meaning nor stirs pleasurable emotion.

We use some technical terms in this book, but mostly in their common everyday sense. It is true that much of today's common sense has filtered down to us from the thinking of gifted men and women of the past, but that does not mean that simple exposition can go to the real heart of problems with which philosophers are still wrestling. Our aim is more modest—to break the surface and reveal that there are such problems—and in pursuing that aim some of our exposition is necessarily superficial.

There is a third difficulty: philosophers have always been in dispute among themselves, and in the opinion of some modern philosophers many of their disputes are unwarranted and unfruitful.¹ If some philosophic writings are, even for philosophers, literally non-sensical, what are laymen to do? In what sense can they become philosophers?

Ultimate Questions and Answers

What is a philosopher? Socrates, speaking of himself, said that if he was wise it was only because he knew he was ignorant. He preferred, therefore, not to be called 'wise' but 'a lover of wisdom'. That is the root meaning of the word 'philosopher'. In this sense we can all be philosophers. Most people like to pride themselves on one kind of wisdom—practical wisdom, as we call it. But what is 'wisdom'?

The first answer to the question: 'What is a philosopher?' seemed to take us somewhere, but obviously it did not take us to a terminus. We must go on to consider a new question. 'That is the charm of knowledge', as Robert Lynd has said. 'It is merely a door to another sort of ignorance.' Philosophers push

¹ See for example A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic* (Gollancz, 1946).

their inquiries beyond their answers, and as they do so they are continually led to examine the meanings of the words they are using. Some modern philosophers in fact assert that the rigorous analysis of the meanings of words and statements is the most valuable function they can perform. It may often be more valuable than the function traditionally assigned to them of providing wise guidance on the problems of life, if only because words cannot guide us wisely until we really understand what they mean. We are often deluding ourselves when we think we understand the meanings of words we are using, and the more familiar the words the greater the danger.

In searching for wisdom we see then that we must push our inquiries beyond our first answers, and continually ask ourselves what we mean by the words we use. Obviously, we achieve wisdom in ordinary life at different levels and we apprehend it with different degrees of clearness. But everyone can go some way along the road; everyone can, in a simple sense and to some degree, be a philosopher.

Practical wisdom is useful because it may help us to act wisely in an immediate situation. But if we look beyond the practical needs of the moment we may find something more: a clear understanding of a higher form of wisdom that will help us to act wisely in many varied situations. We may edge our way towards the terminus—a clear apprehension of answers beyond which there is nothing wiser; we may approach a little nearer to the realization of the ideal—a clear apprehension of what is called ultimate wisdom. An example will make this point clearer. In the United States children in school salute the American flag each morning. A little boy one day refused. His father had told him not to salute. 'I see', said the teacher. 'Come and hold the flag for us.'

She avoided a scene, and the class-room activity proceeded smoothly. At that level her action was wise. But she was wise beyond that simple level although perhaps she was not fully

conscious of it. She had treated the child as a person owing loyalty to his father as well as to his teacher, and she had avoided stirring up a conflict of loyalties too difficult for a young child to bear. Looked at in this way, her wisdom is seen to be less superficial than appeared at first sight; we may call it either deeper or higher. Her action was wise for reasons beyond immediate class-room convenience and it might possibly have good long-term results. An important practical question, of course, still remains: How should the class-room situation be dealt with in the future?

Some theoretical questions also remain. Why ought a child to be treated as a person? Why should we respect the personalities of all human beings? Some would reply that respect for human personality is the foundation of democracy, and that democracy is a good way of life. But what do the words 'democracy', 'person' and 'personality' mean? Democracy has many obvious defects even as we know it in a relatively mature form; we say it is a good way of life but is it the best? We are then driven to ask the age-old question: What do we mean by the good life?

When, in our search for wisdom, we probe further and further beyond our first answers, we come at last to an ultimate answer beyond which we can ask no further question, or to an ultimate question—a mystery to which there appears to be no answer. Even professional philosophers, as they approach ultimate answers, find it more and more difficult to formulate them in precise terms that can be readily understood, and we laymen should not be depressed when we find some philosophic writing hard or perhaps impossible to understand. Equally, we should not lightly assume that a statement by a theologian is worthless because it does not convey to us clear meaning in the ordinary sense of the words. After all, no one expects to be able to understand advanced mathematics if he has studied only very elementary arithmetic and geometry. The

road from infants' primers, where even most philosophers start, to learned philosophic books is a long one, and the aim of this book is to help readers who are busy in the practical affairs of life to see that there is such a road, to persuade them to accompany us as we take a few tentative steps along it, and perhaps to encourage some to go further.

The ultimate mysteries of life cannot be explained clearly in simple statements. For example, as Georges Braque says, 'The only valid thing in art is that which cannot be explained. To explain away the mystery of a great painting—if such a feat were possible—would do irreparable harm . . . you substitute the explanation . . . for the real thing Mysteries have to be respected if they are to retain their power' (*The Observer*, 1 December 1957). In brief moments of exaltation we may get visionary glimpses of a mystery, perhaps of a more perfect life than any we ordinarily experience; we can never explain such visions, and few of us can communicate them to others. Artists, mystics and poets, whose visions of beauty, goodness and some kinds of truth are more lasting and vivid than ours, may be more successful in the art of communication, but unless we ourselves have had some experiences of similar kinds we cannot hope to share their visions even dimly. 'The essential incommunicability of the mystical experience,' says Joad, 'is . . . due to its subjective character, which is at once personal and intuitive, and to the character of its object which is other-worldly.'¹ This discussion may be summed up in further words of Joad:

There is . . . no sunset so beautiful that it does not awaken the thought of a greater beauty The veil (between us and a vision of beauty) is lifted so quickly that we scarcely have time to know that it has gone before it has fallen again. But during the moment of lifting we get a vision of something behind and beyond which passes, before it is clearly seen, and which in passing leaves behind

¹ C. E. M. Joad, *Philosophy for Our Times* (Nelson, 1940), p. 406.

a feeling of indefinable longing and regret. Only the mystic achieves a vision which is in any degree lasting, and for that vision he pays the inevitable price which is 'a paralysis of the energies of life.'

We see that a lover of wisdom is, in fact, a searcher after higher and higher forms of wisdom, and that in the end he comes face to face with mystery. A humble acceptance of this fact is difficult for many people in this scientific age when man is tempted to think that, as scientists have already explained so much that was mystery to our forefathers and seem likely to continue the process at an accelerating pace, they must hold the key to the ultimate solution of all mystery. But in our own ways and at our own levels—whether we be simple-minded persons or clever ones, philosophers or scientists, poets or technologists, artists or artisans—most, if not all of us, get occasional glimpses of mysteries that we believe must for ever lie beyond man's intellectual understanding. We then say that we are face to face with ultimate mysteries. It is not possible to prove that such statements are true. Supporting evidence is given by the testimony of men and women in all walks of life through the ages, including that of many honourable persons of the highest intellect. But words are words and their meanings are elusive. Statements about the ultimate mysteries of life can be fully accepted and appreciated only on the basis of individual experience. To anyone who denies all knowledge of such experience they must appear to be non-sense. They may not, however, be without value, for at any time the touch of life—it may be some experience of beauty or of a personal relationship of love—may turn the words to truth.

The ultimate mysteries of life are not in any sense fearsome superstitions which science has not yet dispelled; on the contrary, as we meditate on them they may bring us peace of mind—in theological language, 'the peace of God, which passeth all

understanding.' In the busy, anxious world today this peace is one of man's greatest needs.

We come now to a second dictionary meaning of the word 'philosopher': 'one who shows philosophic calmness in trying circumstances.' Such calmness is possible to those who, loving wisdom, continually search for it; it has nothing to do with calmness bred of indifference or apathy.

There is perhaps no segment of life in which trying circumstances recur more frequently and in such varied forms as in education: children prefer watching television to doing homework; work in school is hampered by a shortage of books and scientific equipment; the replacement of school buildings condemned years ago is slowed down by national economic difficulties. At any moment of time it is always possible to make a long catalogue of trying circumstances, and the more deeply we feel that education is important, the longer the catalogue becomes and the more trying the circumstances seem to be. In face of them a person with a philosophy—even a simple one—is wisely calm and serene, not foolishly angry; he suffers frustration without incessantly moaning; like a tree in the wind he is often shaken but the roots of his faith hold him upright; he is quietly and patiently determined because of the faith that is in him, and that is very far from being optimistically complacent or apathetically indifferent. If professional educationists can maintain a philosophic attitude of this kind in discussions with lay authorities—education committees or governors—they are more likely to get some cherished plan approved than if they adopt an impatient, angry attitude—useful and necessary though such an attitude may be on occasions. Philosophic calm when dealing with children in homes and schools is equally valuable, for calmness is the passport to consistency which is one of the foundations of good order without which efficient education is impossible. The cultivation of serenity in offices and schools is part of wisdom, and it is

valuable in personal relationships over the whole educational field.

The word 'wisdom' is obviously very difficult to define. One dictionary definition is that it is 'experience and knowledge together with the power of applying them critically or practically'. This definition accords with the popular notion that wisdom is more important than ordinary knowledge, just as knowledge is more important than memorized information. A person can memorize words, but unless he understands what they mean, and how the ideas they express are related to other ideas, they are for practical purposes useless. They constitute unusable information; it is a precarious possession easily lost because never used in thought or action. Ideas woven together in a person's mind constitute knowledge; it cannot be wholly lost because it is a product of the growth of his mind, and he is frequently using it. It is more than a possession; it is part of him.

We do not become knowledgeable, still less do we become wise, by memorizing words, even the words of wise men. We must understand them, and for full understanding practical experience and thoughtful discussion are needed. Having assimilated knowledge by thinking about the results of our observation, experience and reading, there is need for occasional further reflection: we must ask ourselves what items of our knowledge have, in our experience, proved so important that they are worthy of being called wisdom. There is no finality; the acquisition of wisdom is a process of distillation from personal experience and knowledge, and it is the job of a lifetime. Wisdom accumulates slowly in the minds of humble and reflective men and women. As Cowper says in 'The Task':

Knowledge dwells

In heads replete with thoughts of other men;

Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.

.

Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much ;
 Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.

Although, in the last analysis, the acquisition of wisdom is a process that takes place in the mind of each person, contact with other minds, through reading, observing, talking, listening and discussing, is essential. Group discussions are often very valuable, but conversations with intimate friends are sometimes more useful and appropriate, especially when a person is seeking wisdom about the deepest issues, the mysteries of life and education. In the end, each person must however commune with himself, for 'wisdom dwells in minds attentive to their own.' Discussion in groups, conversation with friends, private contemplation: these are three important aids to the acquisition of wisdom.

Wisdom may be sought in many fields. The method of searching, as we have seen, is by asking a series of questions. The search begins with a question and answer; let us call them $Q1$ and $A1$. It continues with a second question, $Q2$, about the first answer, $A1$, and with a second answer, $A2$. And so the search continues until the last question, QL , has been asked:

$$Q1 \rightarrow A1 \rightarrow Q2 \rightarrow A2 \dots \dots \dots QL$$

QL may be a *last* question because for the time being no answer to it can be found; it may be a *final* question because the last answer, AL , is one about which it seems impossible or unnecessary to ask another question.

Searching by question and answer is an activity characteristic of human beings of all ages and abilities—from little children to mature scientists and philosophers. For example, it is the method used by nuclear physicists as they explore the atom, and by engineers as they invent machines for using atomic energy. They have a number of last but not final questions, one of which at present (1959) is this: How can the

energy of hydrogen atoms be released on a large scale, not explosively but under control?

Last answers are not necessarily worthy of being classified as wisdom. A student preparing to take history in an examination may memorize many answers to satisfy examiners, but the answers may stop short at the information level. Once the examination has been passed they are mostly forgotten; they contribute little or nothing to his permanent store either of knowledge or of wisdom. He is no wiser in the art of living than if he had never studied history. On the other hand, many a country dweller may be inarticulate, even almost illiterate, and yet in some mysterious way he grows up wiser in the art of living, happier and more serene, than many learned men and women.

As he works, he sees about him other ways of life being pursued at their own tempo—not only animal life, but that of crops and trees, of flowers and insects—all set within the greater cycle of the four seasons. It has a therapeutic value, this awareness of the myriad forms and varied pace of other lives. Man, particularly the town-dweller, scurrying to catch up with what he considers the important jobs, which none but he can do, presses himself onward at a crueller pace daily. He scuttles from stone and steel office to arid tube-station. If he sees a blade of grass, prising its way between the paving stones, it only registers itself to this overwrought brain as something which should be reported to the corporation. Small wonder that sleeping-pills lie within reach of so many tousled beds, when man has lost sight of the elementary fact that he must go at his own pace, or face the consequences.

Two other benisons are more generously bestowed in the country—solitude and handling earth. . . . When one is alone one is receptive—a ready vessel for the sights, the scents and sounds which pour in through relaxed and animated senses to refresh the inner man.

As for the healing that lies in the garden; let Mr. Willett's (the school caretaker's) wise words be heard. 'Proper twizzled up' I

was after that row at the Parish Council. I went and earthed up my celery, on my own. That sorted me out a treat.¹

In urban life, especially if we are flat-dwellers, we are largely cut off from the benisons enjoyed by country-dwellers. Our daily contacts with nature are mostly with fellow human beings and we therefore depend very much on the therapeutic value of good human relationships. In favourable circumstances many town-dwellers—for example, school- and office-cleaners giving faithful personal service to appreciative teachers and administrators—achieve something comparable to the wisdom and serenity of the countryman. The same may be true of teachers who are really happy in their work. And many an administrator, ‘twizzled up’ with masses of paper, has found that a visit to a happy school helps him to sort himself out.

The last answers of research scientists and inventive technologists are obviously on a very high level, and yet they stop short of the kind of wisdom we are considering. There are questions and answers that lie beyond all the questions and answers of scientists, for example: For what purposes ought atomic energy to be used? Such questions, not being questions about facts, are beyond the scope of science; scientists may ask and answer them, but they do so because they are human beings and not because they are scientists.

Values and the Good Life

We see then that questions fall into two categories: those that ask *What is?* and those that ask *What ought to be?* Philosophers distinguish them as questions about facts and questions about values. They make a similar distinction between the answers: there are factual statements and value statements.

The word ‘value’ is here used in a technical sense, somewhat different from the sense in which we generally use it. A value is

¹ ‘Miss Read’, *Village Diary* (Michael Joseph, 1957), pp. 187–8.

commonly put on things; their worth is valued in terms of money, and we can arrange such things in a more or less agreed order of value. For some purposes, such as the valuation of property or jewellery, we may employ a professional valuer. We also use the word in more abstract ways; we talk, for example, of the value of exercise, health, science, worship. We could each make a long list of such items, but no agreed order of value for all the lists would be possible. In fact, each individual would find it difficult to decide on a definite order of value for the items in his own list. If, however, we ask ourselves in respect of each item: *Is there anything in life more valuable than this?* we can by a process of elimination winnow out a small number of items which most people would agree ought to be placed at the top of every list. Thoughtful men have been doing this all through the ages—trying to decide what is of greatest value in life, or in other words seeking an answer to the question: *What do we mean by the good life?*

It is a question in which everyone is interested and which everyone answers, implicitly or explicitly, for himself. A common answer today is *Having a good time*, that is to say, time filled with pleasures bought according to individual taste. There is much to be said for many kinds of good times; their ingredients are pleasures that harm no one and give the good-timer much-needed relaxation. It is, however, common experience that lives governed by desires for good times are not permanently satisfying, and it is common knowledge that much of the *malaise* of the modern world is due to good-time obsessions. The trouble is caused because people stop too soon in their search for the good life; they do not push their questions beyond their first elementary answers. Life cannot consist wholly of good times, of pleasures that money can buy; life is not like that and it is foolish and frustrating to expect it to be so. There is something in life beyond good times, something of greater value.

In thinking of the meaning of the word 'value' we have referred to things (such as houses and diamonds) and to 'not-things' (such as pleasures) which we have so far called items. The word 'item' is unsatisfactory, and moreover it would be convenient to have one word which could be used for all things and items (things and 'not-things') that we deem to be valuable in life. The word 'value' has come to be used for this purpose, and it will be clear from the context when the word is being used in this special technical sense. Thus when we wish to suggest that money, power and pleasure are among life's valuables, we call them 'values'. We are using the word in this sense when we talk of a person's scale of values. A person's life may be wholly dominated by trivial values, or it may be continually influenced by important values and at times inspired by values that are supremely important. The question we are trying to answer can now be re-worded so that it reads: *What are the highest, the supreme, the ultimate values in life?* That is to say, what are the values beyond which there is nothing more valuable. In those exalted moments when our thoughts and actions are inspired by a consciousness of supreme values we experience what it means to live the good life—life beyond which there is nothing better. The good life is one that is most satisfying and of most worth because it is inspired by the highest values.

In ordinary usage, the word 'good' has many shades of meaning as in phrases like 'good boy', 'good dog', 'my good man', 'good as gold', 'good soil'. In the phrase 'the good life' the word is used in an absolute sense—different from that in which it is used in everyday life and school life where degrees of goodness are often recognized: good, better, best; fairly good, good, very good. It is, however, also used in ordinary life in an absolute sense: to commend action that is morally right. When we say, for example, that it is good to tell the truth, we mean that truthfulness is absolutely good. If we some-

times depart from truthfulness for reasons of expediency we generally feel uneasy about it.

The word 'good' has the important function, if it is wisely used, of giving children their first ideas of right and wrong. The words 'good' and 'naughty' are, however, continually on the lips of many parents, being used indiscriminately to express approval or disapproval of acts that are morally neither right nor wrong but merely and trivially convenient or inconvenient to adults at the moment. Such usage may be necessary in moderation in early years, but if it is persisted in too long, beyond the age (7 or 8 years) when children are beginning to form moral ideas, it is likely to produce moral confusion rather than enlightenment.

Materialism

As a noun the word 'good' is ordinarily used only in its plural form: it refers to material things, for example, to the goods that are carried on freight trains. Philosophers use the noun (singular and plural) to refer, not to material things, but to any or all of those non-material values a consciousness of which, as we have seen, makes us feel that life is supremely well worth living. Those whose conception of 'the good' or of 'goods' is limited to material things, who in other words have a materialistic philosophy, attach supreme importance to policies that will, they hope, deliver the goods. They tend to think of the standard of living predominantly in terms of material things such as money and things like television sets and refrigerators that money will buy. They are for the most part unaware that there are goods of higher value—of such high value that there is nothing better.

Material things, like things needed for good times, are necessary ingredients of the good life for most people. These things are not worthy of the highest valuation, but it would be hypocritical to deny them their place in our scale of values. It is

wrong for anyone, especially an educationist living in comparative comfort, to adopt a superior attitude towards values that are not at the top of the scale; economic security is, after all, one of the foundations of the good life. The modern popularity of a materialistic philosophy springs to some extent from the popular notion that physical science can and ought to produce a golden age of material plenty, and it springs also from feelings of economic insecurity which have their roots in past unhappy experiences, for example, of low wages and unemployment. These feelings, especially in a period of inflation, are naturally accentuated by family responsibilities, but sometimes they are unnecessarily exaggerated by foolish competition for social prestige involving desperate efforts to keep up with the neighbours.

Competition of this kind obviously tends to flourish in the atmosphere created by a materialistic philosophy, but it often springs from inferiority feelings which are the result of a consciousness, which may or may not be justified, of inferior personal status. A secretary on returning to work after an illness was kindly and enthusiastically welcomed by her employer. 'I have missed you,' he said: 'I have been feeling as if I had lost my fountain-pen.' 'And wasn't I mad!' said the secretary when talking about it to her friend. It is easy to assent to the abstract proposition that we ought to respect personality, and yet unwittingly make many errors in the subtle, practical business of maintaining personal relationships.

People and Persons

We all need the most vivid appreciation possible of the meaning of the word 'person'. It will make us more sensitive to the problems of relationships with other people which we face many times on almost every day, and, as we shall see later, it will illuminate the questions we have been asking about ultimate values and the good life. The words 'person' and 'human

being' are so frequently used that we take their meanings for granted and scarcely ever reflect on their deeper significance. But what are human beings? What do we mean when we say they are persons? What is man? The question, however it be worded, is of profound importance. Let us consider it.

A human being is made of very common chemical substances: ten gallons of water, as much fat as in a few bars of soap, as much carbon as in a few thousand lead pencils, as much phosphorus as in a few hundred match-heads, as much iron as in one nail, together with small quantities of other substances such as calcium, magnesium and sulphur. But man is more than matter—a mere collection of atoms and molecules; he cannot be wholly described in terms of chemical formulae.

A human being is a complicated machine with levers moving under the control of a central nervous system. Electronic machines are now being made which can automatically perform many mechanical operations that formerly needed human skill; some can perform operations such as arithmetical calculations and the translation of a foreign language. But man is more than the most wonderful machine; he cannot be wholly described in terms of mechanics and electronics.

A human being is an animal with a biological equipment which in many ways resembles that of other animals. He is composed of cells made of living protoplasm; he has sense organs and equipment that enable him to move, breathe, feed and reproduce his kind. Like other animals he has a mental equipment—instinctive impulses and the ability to learn by experience. His instinctive behaviour is however not nearly so fixed as that of the lower animals; intelligence and memory play a much greater part in his life. He has, for example, by learning to walk on his feet, released his hands for other tasks such as making and using tools. He has learnt to extend enormously the usefulness of his hands, arms and legs by

inventing tools and more and more complicated machines; he has learnt how to supplement the energy released from food—in his own body and in the bodies of animals—by energy released from wood, coal, oil and uranium, and the time is coming when he may be able to obtain unlimited energy from sea-water, and perhaps from other common substances. The importance of men as machines (and of animals too) is decreasing, and the importance of technology, of machines driven by energy from physical and not from animal sources, is increasing at a speed that no one could have foreseen fifty years ago.

The development of technology would have been impossible if man had not learnt how to communicate with his fellow-men more effectively than animals can communicate with animals. He probably first learned to do this by using gestures. He also developed the use of facial expression; smiles and laughter are very human methods of communication. But in the process of time man learned a more wonderful and effective method; he developed language. By means of language he can apprehend abstract ideas and communicate with his fellow-men not only in the present but also in the past and the future. Men developed language by learning to make sounds which they tacitly agreed should have certain meanings. They learned to record these sounds by drawing pictures and pictograms, and later by writing words and other kinds of signs. In time they learned to reproduce the signs by printing. Thus it became possible to accumulate the results of human experience, to communicate from generation to generation, and to work in co-operation with others. Language has released men from the necessity of always living, like animals, in the present. Man has recently crowned his inventions in the art of communication by making it possible to communicate, almost instantaneously, in speech and pictures across space too great for sound and sight to bridge. Man's mental equipment, though similar in some

ways to that of other animals, is so superior that it has clearly differentiated him from them.

These questions now arise: Is man a very clever chimpanzee and nothing more? Is it possible that he might be wholly described in scientific terms if we looked not only to chemists, physicists and biologists but also to social scientists of all kinds, for example, to psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists? Or is there something beyond the great and many-sided aggregation of knowledge that scientists have discovered about man and his nature, something even beyond the knowledge that scientists can ever discover?

When we think of the extraordinary discoveries about matter that scientists have made recently, and are still making, and of the fact that the social sciences are still in their infancy, it is reasonable to believe that in time scientists will discover a great deal about human nature that now appears to be mysterious, and that they will make ever greater contributions to the solution of human problems. No doubt many of our present failures in the art of living are due to ignorance which in time scientists will dispel as they have dispelled the ignorance that was in the past responsible for many irrational fears and superstitions. In time our scientific knowledge, of living and non-living things and of ways of liberating physical energy, may become so great that it will be possible to increase the production of food and other material goods, and, subject to a control of world population, to give everyone economic security, thus laying the necessary foundation for the good life for everyone.

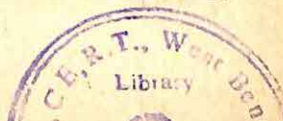
Scientific method, which has been used so successfully in solving problems in physical science, will be increasingly applied, perhaps with similar success, to the solution of many human problems that are at present intractable. Some believe that our knowledge of human beings, as individuals and as members of groups, will become so complete that it will be possible to eliminate scientifically all those mental conditions

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which are now obstacles to the attainment of a good personal and community life: the abnormal conditions that produce delinquents and criminals, and the morbid conditions, such as neurotic love of power in some and fear of freedom and responsibility in others, that produce much human misery. These are great expectations and they cannot all be fully realized for many years, if ever. We can however all agree that scientists will in the future be able to do much more than they can do now to help people to understand many present mysteries, to help them to grow up physically and mentally healthy, and to give them confidence in social and economic security. We may thus look to scientists to help mankind to avoid much of the unnecessary misery and foolishness common in the world today.

It is obvious that millions, including the great majority of simple-minded people to which most of us belong, urgently need help to enable them always to know and to do what they ought to do. Science has its important contributions to make, but ultimately, as we have argued, there is some help that science can never give. Man, in his search for ultimate wisdom about life, must look beyond scientists: for example, to artists, poets and saints. He must join the petitioner in one of the collects of the Church of England Book of Common Prayer and humbly pray: 'Grant that we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same.'

This view is not universally held today. Some put all their faith in politics. Some believe that, with the help of physical and social science, the essential goodness of human nature will prevail. There are some who put great faith in the power of science, but the root of whose faith is a belief that the process of history is determined by economic forces, and that the operation of these forces must inevitably lead ultimately to some kind of Utopia—to a classless society, for example. This process, they believe, can be accelerated by the intervention of

man, and they place such a high value on the end they have in view that they believe they are justified in using any means to achieve it quickly—even, if they deem it to be necessary, the persecution and murder of some of their fellow-men. This example brings us back to our consideration of the nature of man. In imagination and sympathy we put ourselves in the position of the victims, and we say with emphatic conviction that such treatment is cruel, wicked, wrong. All men, women and children are persons—ends in themselves, or as many would say, children of God; and it is wrong to treat them as if they were things or animals—mere means to an end, no matter how worthy the end may be.

It seems natural for us to rebel when we are treated, or when we think we are being treated, as a means to enable someone else to achieve his end. A secretary is 'mad' when she is likened to a fountain-pen. A teacher is unhappy when he feels he is being denied reasonable opportunities of using his own intelligent initiative, of exercising personal responsibility, and of receiving due credit; he feels that his headmaster is using him as a means for his own ends, and he objects because, as he says, he is being put in an undignified position. Each one of us is conscious of himself as a person with dignity—the dignity that springs from freedom and the exercise of intelligence and moral responsibility, from the enjoyment of beauty, and of personal status and appreciation among his fellows. We are made of the same chemical elements as things, we are wonderful machines and we are clever animals; but as human beings, as persons, we are more. Things, machines and animals are legitimately owned and used as means. Human beings are ends in themselves; that is what we mean when we say they are persons. That is why it is wrong to refer to a child as 'it' or to a group of promising pupils or recruits as 'good material'. After a long and bitter struggle, it is now generally but not yet universally agreed that slavery, the owning of men by other men or of wives by hus-

bands, is wrong. It is also wrong to use persons, or even to appear to use them, *merely* as means. There are of course many occasions when persons are justifiably used; it is not wrong, for example, to talk of 'a useful prefect' or 'a useful teacher'. The point is that no matter how useful a person may be, it is wrong to treat him as if he were merely a tool, and ignore the fact that he is a person in his own right. It is wrong to exploit him. Civilized people are now ready to assent to the truth of this principle, but many of us fail in practice, often in subtle ways that we do not recognize; we do not know how often we make other people 'mad' unnecessarily and unjustifiably.

Animals, being conscious, transcend things, machines and plants; men, being self-conscious, conscious of themselves as persons, transcend animals. They are able, as it were, to stand outside themselves, and as they do so, they are problems to themselves. They ask questions about their own nature and destiny; they are conscious that their lives are concerned not only with material things and biological necessities but also with spiritual values. They are able, for example, to distinguish what is true, beautiful, right from what is false, ugly, wrong.

At the human, spiritual level, man attaches value to what he calls truth—to telling the truth in the little incidents of life, and to seeking the truth in the many diverse fields of scholarship; he attaches value to what he calls beauty—to the contemplation of beautiful scenes and things in the ordinary experiences of daily life, and to creating and enjoying beauty in all the diverse forms of art; he attaches value to what he calls moral goodness—to good behaviour, such as kindness, honesty, justice and tolerance, on the small scale of personal conduct in little groups, and on the large scale of conduct in national and international affairs. Truth, beauty and goodness, we say, are three essential ingredients of the good life; they are the three ultimate human values.

Some forms of animal behaviour seem to exemplify in

embryo what we call truth, beauty and goodness. Animals are not completely without ability to learn by experience, the song of many birds is beautiful, most animals appear to display what we call kindness in their relationships with mates and offspring. But man, even the least gifted, can develop all these forms of behaviour to immeasurably higher levels and in infinitely more varied ways. Man is able to reflect on the quality of his behaviour, he is conscious of himself as being free—in his best moments free to create truth, beauty and goodness; he is able to recognize, appreciate and think about values in ways that are clearly beyond the power of the cleverest animal. We express this fact by saying that man's life is spiritual as well as biological; that he is a spirit as well as an animal.

Man's spiritual nature shines through, even when he is satisfying his biological needs. Thus, as Lewis Mumford has said, 'Eventually aesthetic delight and gustatory excitement, hospitality and friendly intercourse, even religious ritual, enter into both the getting and eating of food.'¹ The full satisfaction of a biological need produces in man 'an efflorescence in values'. This general idea is relevant to many problems of school life and education, for example, to the service and conduct of school meals, to the inculcation of good manners, and to a right understanding of sex education as something more than instruction in biology.

When we speak of persons, as contrasted with animals, we are thinking of them as beings who ought to be treated as ends and not means. This attitude towards human beings is generally described as one of 'respect for personality'; the less abstract expressions, 'respect for persons,' 'love of people,' are more meaningful. The attitude is often described as one of 'respect for human life', and with many it spreads to a belief that all life is sacred. Such attitudes and beliefs raise many questions, for example: Do situations ever arise in which it is

¹ L. Mumford, *The Conduct of Life* (Secker and Warburg, 1952), p. 126.

justifiable to sacrifice human life in order to safeguard some vital human principle? Are there any circumstances in which capital punishment is justifiable? Should experiments on living animals be performed in the interests of medical science? Is the common attitude of English people towards cats and dogs unwisely sentimental?

Respect for persons is one of the most important human values, fundamentally important because it colours the whole of our behaviour towards other people. It is at the root of all personal as contrasted with impersonal and inhuman relationships. Personal relationships (a relationship of love is the supreme example) are the foundation of true community life and of all behaviour—kind, just, truthful, honest, tolerant, forgiving, unselfish—that is morally good.

When persons transcend animals most completely they are conscious of themselves as being rational, aesthetically sensitive and morally good creatures. They have dignity and are worthy of being treated with dignity. We are always ready to claim this status for ourselves, but not always so ready to concede it to others.

As human beings we aspire in our best moments to live the good life—one enriched by freedom, truth, beauty, and goodness, and by the personal relationships from which goodness flows; as animals we are tempted to live on a lower level—a selfish life governed by animal instinct rather than one inspired by human values. We therefore live in a state of tension which animals presumably do not experience. The practical question is this: Which pull is usually the stronger? It depends on the kind of person we are, on the values we believe in, and the order in which we rate them. All this depends on many factors of which education, using the term in its widest sense (see Chapter 2), is the most important. But in the last resort we cannot, as persons, escape all responsibility for the choices we make. Many of these choices are admittedly determined by a

complex group of factors which have largely made us what we are. Our present nature is not simple and homogeneous, and for most parts of it we are not responsible. Some parts we have inherited and some we could not help acquiring. We find ourselves therefore in situations to which determining factors outside our control have been largely responsible for bringing us. But in many situations of life we seem to ourselves to be free to choose and act as we will—to be more or less free, for example, to choose and act in accordance with our animal nature, or with our human or as some would say, with our divine nature; to be free to break habit which has become second nature. We say, with Dr. Johnson, that 'we *know* our will is free.' (This statement does not mean that we possess some entities called 'wills'. It would be better expressed: We know we are free to choose and act as we will.) Many would add as Dr. Johnson did, 'and *there's* an end on't.' However that may be, we believe that it is our nature to be free, that in a real though admittedly restricted sense we can rise to be free, responsible persons. Freedom of this kind is essential to the realization of the supreme human values.

There are times however when we seek to escape the responsibility of the good life. The pull of a simpler life, more akin to that of an animal or even a vegetable, is sometimes very strong, and on occasion we rightly welcome trivial ways of escaping from freedom and responsibility. From time to time, however, we get a glimpse, sometimes perhaps a glorious vision, of excellence and perfection, and we feel that the best word to describe it is 'divine'. But we know from experience that, attractive though it may be, real life, more often than not, falls short of this high level. We may transcend the animals but that does not mean that we are not animals, or that we are gods. As human beings we live at various levels. At times, like unself-conscious children, we are unashamedly animals; we act on instinctive impulse and, so long as we do no harm and do not

seek to live continuously on this level, we are happy and the better for it. At times we are conscious of reaching a level that suggests there is a spark in our nature which we call divine. But for most of the time we live at levels that may be described as decently human. At times we descend below the level of ordinary decent human beings, and below perhaps even that of happy animals. In expressive theological language, we sin and come short of the glory of God. Finally, the paradoxical fact must be faced that, as a result of the power that springs from man's superior abilities and achievements, he is capable of sinking to levels below the worst forms of animal behaviour. His behaviour then, we often say, is brutish or beastly; but clearly neither word is adequate or just, so we describe the behaviour as 'devilish', 'diabolical', 'hellish', or 'evil', using words derived from the symbols for the concepts of the devil and his works.

A humble acceptance of the fact of sin, springing from an acknowledgment that there is an animal side of our nature, combined with a belief in the values of love and freedom, and in the ultimate values of truth, beauty and goodness, is a healthy state of mind. Its happy possessor, recognizing what life can really be like in times of special inspiration and what it is really like at its various lower levels at other times, does not feel self-sufficient, arrogant or complacent; equally he does not feel frustrated, hopeless or despairing. The way to maintain mental health (and it has an important influence on bodily health) is to face the facts of life—those that are disturbing, those that are ordinary and those that are inspiring.

People who lose faith in the highest values (or, as many would say, who lose their faith in God) and put all their faith in low-level values, such as money, good times and power, all too seldom have visions of excellence or mutual experiences of love. As a result they are often bored, anxious, lonely and not free to be free. They scorn the notion of sin but they are likely

to be haunted by feelings of guilt for, so long as they retain any vestiges of their humanity, life at low levels cannot for long really satisfy them. It inevitably produces a kind of hunger which we call spiritual hunger. The fact that we call it 'spiritual' does not mean that it is unreal; it is accompanied, no less than physical hunger, by its own recognizable though indescribable brand of gnawing discomfort.

Different Kinds of Truth

In pursuing ultimate answers to ultimate questions we have found it necessary to go beyond scientific explanations of the nature of human beings. The pursuit has led us to reflect on the deeper significance of the words 'person' and 'human being'. It has taken us beyond the world of scientific truth that can be more or less verified by experiment and observation into the world of spiritual values that we can believe in and accept only on the basis of our own individual experience that they are satisfying.

The difference between scientific and other kinds of truth is not as absolute as is often suggested. The point is clearly expressed by Bronowski.¹ He quotes William Clifford's dictum that 'the truth at which it [science] arrives is not that which we can ideally contemplate without error, but that which we may act upon without fear', and he comments: 'Science is not the blank record of facts but the search for order within the facts. And the truth of science is not truth to fact, which can never be more than approximate, but the truth of the laws which we can see within the facts. And this kind of truth is as difficult and as human as the sense of truth in a painting which is not a photograph, or the feeling of emotional truth in a movement of music. When we speak of truth, we make a judgment between what matters and what does not, and we feel the unity of its

¹ J. Bronowski, *The Common Sense of Science* (Heinemann, 1951). See also *Science and Human Values* (Hutchinson 1961), by the same author.

different parts. We do this as much in science as in the arts or in daily life.'

In searching for wisdom about the ultimate nature of man we believe that it will always be necessary to go beyond scientific truth however far scientists may advance in the future in their understanding of human nature. Some aspects of man's nature that today we think are ultimate—beyond the scope of scientific method—may prove not to be so, but as far as we can foresee there will always be some questions that by their very nature scientists can never answer, and some real truth which is not scientific but which all persons in varying degree can apprehend as they experience life and reflect on it.

Reality

The words 'real' and 'really' are in very common everyday use. How often we use the word 'really'! Our fondness for these words springs perhaps from man's universal desire to know what is real in life—in philosophic language, to know what reality is.

Like children we often use the word 'real' when we want to distinguish what is real from what is fanciful, things from 'not-things'; gardens are real but fairies are fanciful. As the etymology of the word (Latin *res*, thing) suggests, things that can be perceived by our senses appear to us to be most obviously real. But we also use the word in other senses, in contexts which have nothing to do with things. Thus, when we talk of 'real life', 'a real fact', 'a real man', 'a real pleasure', we are at least faintly acknowledging that the material world is not the only kind of reality. It is clear that the word 'real' has acquired additional meanings far removed from its root meaning as other words have done. As Bergson has pointed out, words are mobile. They are not infinite in number but they have to serve as symbols for an infinite number of things and concepts. In this way language 'makes it possible to be always passing from what is

known to what is yet to be known'. There are many reasons why we have come to use the word 'real' as we do.

As suggested in the previous section, we are not limited to physical experiences. All kinds of experience—physical, mental and spiritual—appear to be real to us, at least at the time they happen. Although physical constitution, and its condition from time to time, have some influence on experiences that are not physical, the various kinds are in our total experience distinct and real.

Some mental and spiritual experiences may, in fact, be more real than things which, as scientists have taught us, are not merely what they appear to us to be as we interpret sense-impressions. In the light of modern scientific discoveries some philosophers even doubt whether matter is real. Einstein, for example, has written: 'We may *hope* that an objective universe exists, we may even *believe* that it exists, but we do not *know* it.'¹ Most laymen and many philosophers take a different view. We know this book is real, we say, because we can see it, touch it, feel its weight. But it is also something very different: it is composed of millions of atoms and molecules, each atom consisting of particles, each molecule of atoms, and all held together by strong forces. We can say that the book is real in both these senses; it is a real, solid thing and it is also an aggregation of real though insubstantial particles. This knowledge again liberates the word 'real' from exclusive associations with the solidity of things. Real, solid things are not as solid as we ordinarily think they are. A window-pane, for example, is solid to the touch, but not to waves of light; a brick wall is solid to the touch and to light, but not to radio waves. The experience we get through our senses is not the ultimate test of the nature of the reality even of material things.

Let us now ask two simple questions: Is grass really green? What do we mean when we say it is green? We do not mean

¹ Quoted by Viscount Samuel, *In Search of Reality* (Blackwell, 1957), p. 10.

that there is a thing 'greenness'. We mean that grass absorbs light waves of most lengths but reflects some waves which, when they fall on the retinas of our eyes, give us the experience which we describe as 'seeing green'. This experience is real to us. In ordinary converse we say that colours are real, but they have no material existence as colours. We create them; in our minds, as we say. This example gives another clear illustration of the fact that we do not use the word 'real' only in reference to material things.

There is a great deal in the world that is real although it is not material. We speak, for example, of qualities—the truth of a statement, the beauty of a sunset, the goodness of a saintly person. When we experience these qualities we have no hesitation in describing them as real although they have no separate existence in time and space. Such experiences are very different from experiences of sub-human qualities which sooner or later produce feelings of dissatisfaction or frustration. When we take a long view, experiences of sub-human qualities have an air of unreality. Perhaps, after all, it is the supreme human values that are ultimately real.

Some philosophers believe that these ultimate values have an independent existence in a mystical universe. Many people believe that they have their origin in a spiritual world governed by a personal God, and that human beings know by God-given intuition or conscience that these values are absolutely good—good in an absolute and not merely in a relative sense.

Some philosophers take the view that truth, beauty and goodness have no independent existence in a mystical universe; a beautiful sunset exists, but the quality, which we call 'beauty', real though it is, has no independent existence. These philosophers believe that the hypothesis of a mystical universe, where these values exist, is unnecessary. For them, the values are concepts that we derive from experience of particular examples; they point out that their manifestations vary in different situa-

tions, in different countries and in different periods of time. It is often said therefore that the values are relative and not absolute. But it is still possible to believe that, in general concept as distinguished from particular manifestations, the values are absolute, and most people irrespective of their beliefs about the origin of values, talk as if they do. As Professor Ryle has said, 'Many people can talk sense with concepts but cannot talk sense about them.'¹ It is perhaps wise therefore for our present practical purposes to leave open the philosophical and religious questions about the ultimate origin and nature of supreme values. Everyone in ordinary life uses words such as truth, beauty, goodness, love and freedom, for they refer to concepts that are real and important to us all, however hazy and ignorant we may be about their ultimate nature and origin.

We differ very much in our philosophies and our religious beliefs, and many people have very little of either. Nevertheless we can and do co-operate in many practical activities essential to our spiritual and social welfare—in education and government, for example. This is possible because we all have a common fund of basic concepts. Most people, or as we say, all normal people, agree that it is wise to place a high value on beautiful rather than on ugly things, on being truthful rather than deceptive, kind rather than cruel, on loving our fellow-men rather than hating them, on being concerned for their welfare rather than indifferent to their misery, on doing right as we see it rather than wrong, on being tolerant and forgiving rather than intolerant and harsh. We do not need to be students of philosophy to know in our heart of hearts, or in our bones (as we say) that truthfulness and the pursuit of truth, the creation and contemplation of beautiful things and acts of loving kindness are worthy or valuable. By and large and in the long run, behaviour of these kinds adds to our happiness and to the sum of human happiness. But there are situations in

¹ Gilbert Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (Hutchinson, 1949).

which it may bring unhappiness, loss, grief and suffering. Nevertheless we know it is worth while; we believe there is a reason for preferring it other than its immediate, obvious results which may be painful. There is something beyond the immediate result: the behaviour is ultimately valuable.

These feelings and ideas are so much a part of us that, as we have seen, we often speak with approval not only of true statements, beautiful things and good actions but also of truth, beauty and goodness. We go further into the realm of abstraction; we speak of truth, beauty and goodness as human values; and we recognize them as being valuable for their own sake, valuable as ends and not merely as means to something better.

The Importance of Ultimate Values

Why is it that these values, presumably unknown to the lower animals, are recognized by man as having supreme worth? It is not because they always pay. In some mysterious way they are in tune with man's higher nature. But this is no answer. It merely provokes us to ask the same question in different words: Why is it in the nature of man to find these values so supremely important, to find life unsatisfying if it is lived exclusively on a lower plane? We are now face to face with the question that is at the root of all religions. Few pose it to themselves in explicit terms and many are indifferent to it; but everyone is at least dimly aware of it, and in times of special importance or crisis this awareness is often heightened. Some, finding the question disturbing, or inconvenient, or not worth asking, turn away from it and rebel against religion in any form; but they never appear to find the serenity that is characteristic of deeply religious persons.

Some, with a lively appreciation of man's potentialities, are content to accept man without seeking for any non-scientific, supernatural explanation of his nature and destiny. They are deeply concerned for human welfare, both material and

spiritual, but they do not believe in the possibility of other-worldly help; they adopt a religion without God—some form of humanism. They believe that we have now reached a stage in the evolutionary process which is for the most part beyond the struggle for survival through natural selection. It is a stage where man, using conscious selection, is in a position to determine the future direction of evolution. The new struggle is a conscious struggle for the fulfilment of man's inherent potentialities. As T. H. Huxley has said, it is a struggle for enjoyment, and he meant real enjoyment and not merely trivial pleasures. Humanists believe that in freely pursuing the supreme human values man is moving towards his real destiny, a vision which increasing knowledge in all spheres is continually making clearer. The pursuit of these values involves intense effort by individuals that is at one and the same time intellectual, aesthetic and moral; and the effort generally serves social as well as individual needs. One or other of these qualities may predominate in any particular human activity, and so we generally think of man moving towards his destiny along a number of different roads: the roads of science, the arts, and truly personal relationships; or in more general terms the roads of intellectual understanding, artistic creation, social development and spiritual achievement.¹

These ideas, in vague and incomplete forms, are becoming part of general current thought, and many people are interpreting them, quite wrongly, as a renunciation of religion. Many people, however, who still acknowledge the need of religion, find that a humanistic religion, with its predominantly intellectual appeal, is unsatisfying; they need a simpler and less abstract religion with a more personal and emotional basis. For many, humanism fails because they cannot believe that

¹ See Sir Julian Huxley, *New Bottles for New Wine* (Chatto and Windus, 1957), especially the essays on 'Transhumanism', 'A Re-definition of Progress', 'Evolutionary Humanism'.

there is nothing beyond, nothing greater than man, even the ideal man to whose development humanists look; they have experiences that lead them to believe in other-worldly help, and to be sceptical of the notion that, without such help, man can ever be master of his destiny. For some, humanism is unacceptable because it suggests unwarrantable arrogance, but this criticism may be unfair, for humanists can be as genuinely humble as most people.

In these circumstances many persons continue to accept with conviction, with or without modification, the religion of their parents. Many who are indifferent or even antagonistic to this kind of religion accept it as a matter of form and still make use of church services for marriage, baptism and burial. On these special occasions people (including many who would disclaim that they were religious) may be revealing that deep down they believe that there is something greater than man, something beyond, some mystery that surrounds us. Some may not believe this but they do not disbelieve—either because they are wisely humble or because they are afraid. Some may disbelieve but they accept the ministrations of the Church because they do not wish to let their neighbours know that they are unbelievers.

It is often difficult to communicate ordinary knowledge, but when we step beyond, and try to communicate our conception of ultimate mysteries the difficulties are still greater. Thoughtful people want to understand the meanings of the words they hear and read, and many find it difficult to understand the language of religion whether theistic or non-theistic; for example, to grasp what theologians mean by God and philosophers by Deity or the Supreme Purpose of the Universe. But that is no reason for trying to discard religion; true wisdom, in this as in all forms of learning, is to gain experience. Some intellectual understanding may come and become deeper, but as religion appeals to the imagination and the emotions as well as to the intellect, the best medium of enlightenment for many

will always be the arts and the experience of belonging to a worshipping community. Through the ages men have evolved special words and techniques for promoting spiritual development. The meanings of the words do not remain static, and some of the techniques have been modified in an attempt to suit conditions today. These processes will no doubt continue, but one thing seems certain: special words and techniques are important for spiritual as they are for intellectual, social and artistic development.

No human being can be always wholly uninfluenced by thoughts and questions about his nature and destiny, or always unaware of the tension between the animal and the higher side of his nature. That is why everyone needs a religion of some kind. If it be asked how we know that this statement is true the answer is that experience everywhere in the world has so far proved it. In the words of Lord Samuel:

Thousands of millions of human beings—men, women and children of all races and colours, of every degree of ignorance or knowledge, loving and suffering, enjoying or enduring—they are all companions together on this revolving globe, with mystery all about them. They need something beyond and greater than themselves to comfort and sustain them; to fill the imagination, satisfy the emotions; to combat what is evil, strengthen what is good.¹

Today, when traditional religious beliefs are being questioned, many are persuaded that it is clever and up-to-date to do without religion. This is not wisdom but foolishness. The matter has been well summed up by C. A. Richardson:

Experience shows that religion is necessary to every individual, for he cannot find serenity and satisfaction unless he comes to terms, in thought and in practice, with the universe in which he finds himself, and has adjusted himself to the agency or agencies

¹ op. cit., p. 156.

immanent in that universe. A religion is a system of beliefs, embodied in a way of life, about the nature of the interrelations of the individual with the rest of reality, and it may take many forms: in particular it may be theistic or non-theistic.¹

It is clear that there are important differences today among people who think about supreme human values. They differ in their beliefs about the origin and nature of these values: whether they come from God, or whether they are the result of human experience and insight; whether they are relative (recognizable only in particular situations) or absolute (existing apart from embodiment in particular situations). For many practical purposes, however, all these people meet on common ground; they agree that certain values are supremely important in life. There are other people who seldom if ever think about these things, and are only occasionally shaken out of an attitude of indifference. But when challenged they also are to be found on the same common ground. A clear example of this more or less common attitude to human values is afforded by the concern and worry that most parents feel when their children are accused by teachers of, say, untruthfulness, dishonesty or bullying. Why is there so much common ground among people despite all their differences in strength and goodness of character, in social status, in religious beliefs, in degrees of intelligence and education, and in philosophies of life which may vary from simple, largely unconscious assumptions to sophisticated, strictly logical theories? It is largely, if not wholly, because we inherit much in common, biologically and socially.

Biological and Social Inheritance

Biologically, human beings the world over inherit certain common physiological and psychological needs, many of them based on instinct, that must be satisfied if they are to survive,

¹ C. A. Richardson, *Knowledge, Reality and Life* (Harrap, 1950), pp. 339-40.

and if, beyond survival, they are to enjoy good physical, mental and spiritual health; they need, for example, food, sleep, warmth, shelter, exercise, adventure, rest, company, solitude, and the peace of mind that comes from physical, economic, emotional and spiritual security. They also inherit certain abilities: to see, hear and touch, to think and remember, to form images, to imagine, to develop muscular skill and aesthetic taste.

Socially, they are born into what is, broadly speaking, a way of life. Unlike biological inheritance it varies from one society to another. The way of life into which we are born is the result of many factors, for example, language and a generally accepted scale of human values which is largely determined by common beliefs and knowledge, and is reflected in common traditions and attitudes, and in literature, art, laws and the institutions of government (national and local), religion and education. All these and other factors, which determine in broad outline a way of life characteristic of the society into which we were born, constitute a complex whole. There is nothing like it in the animal world. It may be described as our social inheritance; anthropologists call it 'a culture'. They are using the word in a wider sense than that in which it is popularly used in phrases such as 'a man of culture' where it connotes knowledge of what are called 'the humanities', appreciation of the arts, and often refinement of a somewhat snobbish kind. In this book we use the word in its anthropological sense.

Culture may be thought of as creating a pervading social atmosphere which inevitably influences everyone who is born into it. The national or tribal culture in which human beings grow up predetermines to a large extent the ways in which they satisfy their biological needs, and the ways in which they develop and use their inherited abilities in the process of learning. The characteristics that distinguish an Englishman from a Frenchman are the result of growing up in an English

and not in a French culture. Children absorb, by imitation which is largely unconscious, many of the basic elements of culture—language, customs, attitudes, beliefs and a scale of values. Parents, by their treatment of children from their earliest days, consolidate and accelerate the process. They encourage and praise some kinds of behaviour; they discourage and punish other kinds. Teachers in school continue, intensify, refine and extend the process of enculturation, of transmitting culture to the young—the process that parents at home begin and that experience of living in society is always influencing.

The Modification of Culture

In emphasizing the process of enculturation we must not lose sight of the fact that culture has been and is still being created by human beings living in society. Children are human beings and, as we shall see (Chapter 9), there is evidence that creative ability is a universal human endowment of great importance at all ages. It is one of the functions of education to keep alive and use this ability. Children should not absorb culture in a wholly passive way; they should be helped to feel that they are actively sharing a heritage. They should be given some experiences in which they feel what it is like to be 'inside the skins' of men and women who have made important contributions to culture: for example, experiences of discovering facts in mathematics and science, in local history and geography, of participating in many activities of school life such as the act of collective worship, the organization of school societies and school government. They might then be said, in a simple, limited sense, to be re-creating culture for themselves. Some educationists, in stressing this important aspect of education, the un-folding and leading out of children's inborn potentialities, have sought support in the etymology of the word 'education' which they wrongly supposed to have come from the Latin

educere, to lead out. It comes from *educare*, to nourish. Education is fundamentally a process of nurturing but, as in the cultivation of plants from seeds, the process must take into account the nature of the creativeness with which children are endowed.

Cultural Differentiation

We have so far given a much too simple description of culture, for no complex society such as a modern nation is wholly homogeneous. A national society contains many different groups, for example: family groups, groups of children, of adults, of men, of women, of rich people and poor, groups of members of different religious denominations, of different types of secondary school, of different social classes and political parties. The members of such groups have their own special characteristics. They are mainly the result of living in a special group culture, but some are partly the result of differences in biological inheritance, for example: differences due to age, and differences in intelligence and sex. We see then that there is a general culture which tends to make everyone conform to type and to bind them together in one large national group; there are special cultures which tend to differentiate people and bind them together in smaller groups. Many kinds of cultural differentiation are wholly desirable; they make not for disunity but for richness in community life. It is possible to combine unity and diversity, and it is a matter for pride that this idea is an important element in British culture with its emphasis on tolerance and individual freedom.

Some kinds of cultural differentiation, however, tend to divide and antagonize. For example, there are groups in which dishonesty combined with skill in avoiding detection is highly valued; in small matters an attitude of this kind seems to be widespread, but it would be over-pessimistic to suggest that it has become incorporated in our general culture. There are

many more insidious kinds of divisive cultural differentiation; it is, for example, bad form in some groups to speak well or to show enthusiasm for any intellectual pursuits. Many of the difficulties which teachers face in schools have their origin in undesirable features of group cultures.

We have today gained a clearer vision, on grounds of humanity, economics and national security, of the need for national unity. That is why we are critically examining many group cultures that years ago were looked upon as desirable, some of them even necessary, and all of them as being harmless. Many important questions have therefore come under discussion, for example: questions of the possibility of co-operation among religious denominations, of the value of co-education and sex education, of the possibility of reforming the tri-partite organization of secondary education, questions of the future of English public schools, of the importance of human relationships everywhere and especially in industry.

When we look at the world as a whole, as we must do since all nations have now been brought close together in space and time by technological advances in methods of transport and communication, national cultures are seen in this new perspective to be group cultures. All that we have said about group cultures in one nation is applicable to national cultures in one world. The field for critical examination of national cultures is obviously enormous.

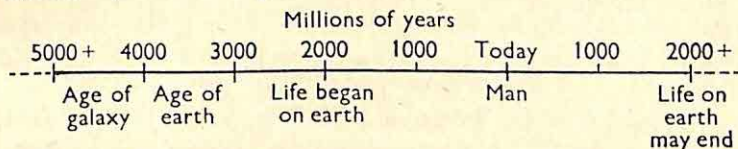
The most serious kinds of cultural differentiation between nations today spring from the wide gulfs between the standards of living in underdeveloped and industrialized countries, and from fundamental differences in the scales of value of Communist and non-Communist cultures. These differences give rise to many questions such as these: Are rich nations doing all they should to help poor ones, and in what form should help be given? Are human beings being treated as persons and not as instruments to be used for political and economic ends,

however worthy? Is it justifiable in special circumstances, is it ever justifiable, to gain good ends by bad means such as deceit and cruelty? Is the most important law of human life ruthless struggle or mutual aid, co-existence or interdependence, suspicious enmity or loving fellowship?

It is right that we should ask questions like these when we are examining the cultures of other countries, but it is also necessary to ask similar questions when we are considering the actions of our own country, and when we are reflecting on our own behaviour in the various smaller groups of which we are members. We believe that British culture exerts a strong, pervading, humane influence on our way of life, and for this influence we should be thankful. But we are fallible and often liable, both as a nation and as individuals, to fall short of the ideals that are embodied in our national culture.

Culture in Perspective

There is enormous scope for further cultural development in every part of the world. We have only to reflect where man stands in time. In the long span of about 4,000 million years from the probable beginning to the possible ending of life on earth, man stands roughly midway.¹ He may not yet be midway, for some scientists see no reason in the nature of the physical world why life on earth should not continue far beyond another 2,000 million years.

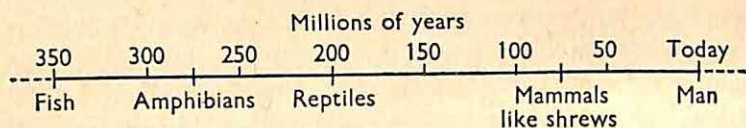


The development of man from a primitive being able to use crude tools to man as he is today cannot be shown on the diagram for it has all taken place in one or two million

¹ Sir Julian Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

years, and it is a mere five or six thousand years since man first developed what we call 'civilizations'. If the thickness of this book be taken to represent the time man has lived on earth, the thickness of the last page roughly represents the time he has been 'civilized'.

The diagram must be magnified twenty times before we can show the animals that lived on earth before man, and even on this magnified diagram we cannot show primitive man separate from man today.



Mankind is still inchoate [as Younghusband says]. Its birth pangs are still on it. . . . The human species is becoming growingly conscious that its destiny lies in developing a single coherent organism. It is a staggering conception for men to conceive. No wonder it will entail endless suffering, unlimited patience and infinite refinement. . . . We recognize its magnitude. We appreciate its delicacy. But we go forward in confidence because we are convinced that, according to our light, we are carrying out the Sovereign Purpose of the World and therefore have behind us the whole impetus of the Great Living Universe of which we are parts. In more familiar language, we are sure of ourselves because we have faith in God.¹

The Instability of Culture Today

A culture may be stable for long periods but in a modern nation it is never static. It is continually being modified, especially by new trends of thought started by intellectual leaders and original thinkers in the various branches of learning. Cultural change, and not biological mutation, is the means by

¹ Sir Francis Younghusband, *Vital Religion* (Murray, 1940).

which human evolution is now proceeding. Everywhere we see change, for example: new ideas about the organization of society, industry and secondary education, experiments in new forms of government, the growth of anti-colonialism, the invention of new, astonishing kinds of machinery. The cumulative result of such changes will be the creation, no doubt after many years of struggle and argument between people and nations with conflicting cultural outlooks, of a cultural tradition very different from that into which we were born.

Gradually, through the medium of culture, new ways of thinking impinge on ordinary men and women, and influence their beliefs and attitudes and ultimately their way of life. For example, the new ways of thinking initiated by Darwin and Wallace and by Freud, and developed by their successors, have so modified our culture that ordinary men and women today, although they may know practically nothing about biology or psychology, have attitudes, ideas and beliefs about man and his place in the universe very different from those of their grandparents. In such circumstances, when novel revolutionary ideas are abroad, and when, although our leaders of thought themselves are not agreed, there is no lack of confident popularizers, some of the newer ways of thinking among people in general are bound to be neither sound nor wise. Educationists today, when culture is absorbing new ideas and is in a state of unstable equilibrium, have the special function of acting as a steadying influence, not over-stressing the value of the old nor blindly worshipping the new.

We are living in a period when many cultures, including the British culture, are more unstable than they have been for centuries. This instability is bound to create difficulties, for the way of life of people depends very much on the absorption of culture. It lays a serious responsibility on the newspaper, cinema and television industries, and on leaders everywhere—in homes, churches, schools, youth clubs, trade unions, employers'

associations, councils and parliaments. The need for wisdom was never greater.

The Need for Balance

In human affairs wisdom often consists in keeping a balance. We need today to get a balanced appreciation of both the older and the newer elements in our culture. Most important among the older elements is our generally accepted scale of values. This scale owes much to the cultures of Greece, Rome and Christendom. Its importance has been emphasized through the years in the teaching of the Bible and the Christian Church, and much in our national history of which we are justly proud can be traced to its influence. Whatever our religious beliefs may be, the scale of values that still largely unites us owes much to Christianity. A similar scale of values has been held and is still to be found over a wide area. Thus in Britain we still think and speak of our culture not only as British but also as European or Western; some still speak of belonging to Christendom, and we have not all wholly forgotten our indebtedness to the classical culture.

The newer elements in our culture spring from modern science. In some important ways—by emphasizing the great value of respect for verifiable truth, intellectual freedom and strict honesty, by making it possible to reduce poverty and suffering, by giving us more and more glimpses of the wonderful beautiful orderliness and unity of nature—the new reinforces the old; science has its values and its moral lessons for all who take the trouble to learn about it and understand its method. But for many passive recipients of culture these newer elements have upset the balance which it is wise to keep—for example, between our valuations of scientific and other kinds of truth, of scientific knowledge and religious faith, of facts and values, of freedom and authority, the balance we keep between admiration of man's powers and humble recognition of his limitations,

between our valuations of material things and spiritual values in assessing standards of living.

Some, on the other hand, underestimate the importance of the newer elements in our culture. In some quarters ignorance, even contemptuous ignorance, of science is still respectable; it is nothing to be ashamed or afraid of, for it does not hinder social or professional advancement. It is still common to draw a sharp distinction between science and the humanities as if science had nothing to do with human values and welfare, and social science no contribution to make to human wisdom. There is admittedly more to be said. The discoveries of science, though inherently neither good nor evil, may be used for good purposes and evil; used wisely they will increase human welfare; used foolishly or with evil intent they will add to the sum of human misery. Recent scientific and technological developments have confronted man with unprecedented dangers, but it is childish to decry these developments because, consciously or unconsciously, we are afraid of their possible repercussions. It is vain to try to maintain cultural stability on foundations that are no longer broad enough to command the general assent of thoughtful persons and are no longer acceptable to most men and women. Whether we like it or not, and however ignorant of science we may be or prejudiced against it, science has profoundly modified the culture in which children are growing up and the social atmosphere which is helping to mould their way of life. A stronger emphasis on science in education is obviously necessary for economic reasons; it is necessary also for broad cultural reasons. But the emphasis should be wise as well as strong, for some of the regrettable modifications of culture, some of the consequent instability, unwisdom and confusion that are so disturbing, may be traced to popular fallacies about science, to misconceptions about its true nature, and to a lack of appreciation of its limitations. Teachers of science should be well-qualified, enthusiastic

scientists and they should also be persons with a wise philosophy of life.

Equally necessary, of course, is a strong and wise emphasis in education on the non-scientific study of man and nature, on the arts and on religion. Perhaps the most important, certainly the most difficult, question relevant to our culture, to our way of life today, is this: *What at the present juncture in human and social development constitutes wisdom in religious education?* The question is so important that it should be discussed seriously and as dispassionately as possible. One aspect, that of religious belief, is so personal and intimate, so difficult to communicate in words, that many will feel it is more suitable for conversation between close friends (it is especially valuable if they differ in religious faith) and for private study and contemplation than for public discussion. However, four statements that will perhaps meet with general acceptance may be made here: (1) a faith that life has purpose and meaning is a universal human need—a faith in the supreme human values, a faith that is usually called ‘religious’; (2) religious faith, if it is to influence a person’s way of life, must at the right time (for many this is late adolescence or early adulthood) be freely chosen and held with sincere conviction; (3) the imperfection of language as a mode of communication is one of the many causes of the great variety of religious faiths (including faiths that some of their holders would not call ‘religious’); (4) if we could get behind the words used to describe religious faiths, we might well find that there is, in the minds of most men and women, a greater measure of agreement about fundamental ideas than is today apparent.

SUMMARY

In searching for wisdom we have asked many questions, some of them perennial questions that through the ages men have asked themselves about the nature of the universe and

about their own nature and destiny, but all of them questions that thoughtful men and women are asking today with a new sense of urgency. Here in summary form are some of these questions:

What is wisdom and how does it differ from knowledge and information?

Why has the great increase in knowledge and information made the need for wisdom so urgent in the world today?

What is of most value in the lives of human beings at their best? In other words what are the supreme human values?

What do we mean by the good life?

What can science contribute towards enabling everyone to experience the good life, and what lies beyond the scope of science?

What is meant by truth? How does scientific truth resemble other kinds of truth, and how is it different?

Human beings are composed of matter; they are wonderful machines; like plants and animals they are composed of cells of living protoplasm; they are clever animals. What lies beyond? In what ways are human beings more than things, machines, plants and animals?

What do we mean when we say that all human beings are potentially persons?

What is the essential difference between human and inhuman relationships, between personal and impersonal relationships?

What is really most important in the lives of human beings at their best? What is most real? In other words, what is the ultimate reality in the universe?

Why is materialism inadequate as a philosophy of life?

Why for most people is humanism inadequate?

In searching for wisdom we have seen how difficult it is to be clear about the senses in which we are using common words—about their meanings, as we say. Much of the confusion in the world today—in politics, education, philosophy, religion—

is the result of people using words without being clear about the senses in which they are using them, and of different people using the same words in very different senses, sometimes without knowing it. It is most important, therefore, to examine the meanings of words and statements carefully, to make clear to ourselves the sense in which we are using a particular word in a given context—as scientists do in their professional work of asking and answering questions about facts, and as philosophers do in their professional work of asking and answering questions about values. Professional educationists (teachers, administrators and inspectors) and everyone with a layman's interest in education (especially parents, school governors and Members of Parliament and County Councils) are continually dealing with questions and answers about facts and values; they need to get as clear an understanding as possible of how words are being used in educational discussions—words such as 'backwardness', 'culture', 'democracy', 'discipline', 'education', 'freedom', 'persons', 'reality', 'values'.

Our understanding of words that are used to express abstract and complicated ideas is inevitably far from perfect, but we must use them nevertheless. As a result of experiences that necessitate using the words, and of meeting them in speech and writing in various contexts, our skill in using them appropriately will increase; our understanding of their meanings will become clearer. This process will be more certain and speedy, if we are vividly and humbly aware of the limitations of our understanding of words of this kind. Many of them, including the words used by theologians, are so common that we tend to use them unthinkingly and we miss their full significance. The commoner the words, the more necessary it is to examine them closely, and to realize that a full understanding of the legitimate ways of using them must be a process of slow growth. It is an important aspect of the growth of wisdom.

In searching for wisdom we have found it necessary not to

rest content with the first answers that we give to many questions, but to probe further and further beyond these answers; we have had to make frequent use of words like 'absolute', 'beyond', 'end', 'supreme', 'ultimate'.

Scientists, by experiment, observation and mathematical analysis, are continually enlarging our knowledge of nature—animate and inanimate. They are pushing back the frontiers between the known and the unknown; and there is no prospect that there can ever be an end to the process of seeking scientific truth by asking and answering questions.

In searching for wisdom, we come ultimately to mysteries that seem as if they lie, and so far as we can foresee will always lie, beyond the scope of science. The ultimate questions we ask are not about facts but about values; the ultimate answers we give, or are given, cannot be verified by impersonal experiment but only by personal experience. These matters form the subject of serious professional study by specialists—philosophers and theologians—but they are matters from which no human being can wholly escape, because of the influences of his biological inheritance of needs and abilities and of the social atmosphere created by the culture into which he is born. These ultimate questions and answers take each one of us, with varying degrees of awareness, into the realm of religion. That is why we have suggested that a religious faith of some kind is a universal human need that must be recognized and in some degree satisfied if wisdom is to be achieved.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

'Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man.' Francis Bacon, *Essays*, 50, 'Of Studies'.

Discussion. The primary aim of this book is to provoke discussion. It may take several forms: discussion with oneself (*contemplation*); with

friends (*conversation*); with colleagues and acquaintances (*group discussion*); with members of an opposition (*debate*). Some topics, such as those relating to personal philosophy and religious faith, are for many persons relatively private, and more suitable for contemplation and conversation than for group discussion. And we should always remember that the ultimate aim of all discussion, even of the most public kind, is to provoke private contemplation; as Plato has said, discussion is not 'a form of sport solely for the purpose of contradiction'.

Reading. The possibilities of further reading relevant to life and education are endless; for, in addition to books written by philosophers, scientists and educationists, there is the vast field of literature and journalism. This fact is illustrated by the variety of the sources of the quotations given in this book. One of the charms of studying the theory of education is that the study cannot be confined to the reading of books on education; unexpected light and sudden challenges often come during the course of non-professional, and indeed of ordinary, everyday reading.

Anthologies. The making of an anthology of relevant extracts compiled from all kinds of sources is an interesting and useful activity; it can do much to clothe a theoretical study of life and education with real meaning. One way of beginning is by referring to existing collections. There are three useful kinds: (a) a dictionary from which the derivations and meanings of the common words used in professional study can be found; (b) a dictionary of quotations from which, by meeting the words in different contexts, deeper insights into their meanings can be obtained than by merely studying their dictionary meanings; (c) anthologies of extracts where the words can be studied in still wider contexts. For example:

The New Year of Grace, An Anthology for Youth and Age compiled and edited with personal commentaries by Victor Gollancz. (Gollancz, 1961); *Wisdom of Men*, An anthology for youth edited by J. A. G. Bruce (Faber, 1943).

Books. The lists given are necessarily selective and personal. In choosing books, we have had in mind the kind of further reading, not too difficult, for which our exposition should have prepared the way. Many of the books mentioned contain bibliographies so that any layman, once started on a course of reading, will have no difficulty in pursuing a progressive course that, if he so desires, could last a life-time.

The Bible; Freedom in the Modern World, Sixteen Broadcast Talks on Philosophy, John Macmurray (Faber, 1935); *Philosophy for our Times*, C. E. M. Joad (Nelson, 1940); *In Search of Reality*, Viscount Samuel

(Blackwell, 1957); *The Conduct of Life*, Lewis Mumford (Secker and Warburg, 1952); *This is my Philosophy*, ed. Whit Burnett (Allen and Unwin 1958); *My Philosophy of Life*, ed. Lord Inman (Odhams, 1958).

The following book contains short answers by distinguished professors, theologians and laymen of the principal churches in Britain to forty-three questions on religion asked by members of a boys' club in Edinburgh:

Asking Them Questions, ed. R. Selby Wright (Oxford Univ. Press, 1953).

Discussion Topics. 1. *The value of philosophy.* 'We think that for a landlady considering a lodger it is important to know his income, but it is still more important to know his philosophy.' G. K. Chesterton, *Heretics*.

'Indirectly philosophy filters down through sermons, literature, newspapers and oral tradition and affects the whole general outlook of the world. . . . Philosophy is not to be valued only for its indirect practical effects but for itself. . . . In order to find truth we must aim at it disinterestedly. . . . Beliefs are useful because they are true, not true because they are useful.' A. C. Ewing, *The Fundamental Questions of Philosophy*.

2. *Man in cosmic perspective.* 'The recent rise of man from the ranks of the animals, his brief effort at civilized life, his luminous creative achievements through which he has come to see himself in the perspective of space, time and history—these are events which leave undeclared their ultimate origin and future course.' M. Polanyi, *The Logic of Liberty*.

'What's time? Leave Now for dogs and apes! Man has Forever.' 'These words of Browning's sum up the very essence of the religious view of time; and most of man's durable achievements rest on that foundation.' . . . The real world 'is other than what man's naive animal needs have made it out to be. In the light of that interpretation, solid rocks become transitory and diaphanous and what seemed the passing shimmer of a dream may last longer than a granite cornerstone.' Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

'The awareness of defect in all he does or attempts is an essential attribute of man—distinguishing him from the animals and uniting him with all his fellow humans. . . . The knowledge of good and evil is specifically human—the awareness of ideals and the awareness of their unattainability.' P. Gordon Walker, *Restatement of Liberty*.

3. *The value of vision.* "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness." (A. N. Whitehead). . . . If anyone has been able to compare the first-rate with the second-rate, his criticism will not be merely bitter and barren, but creative, born of a vision perceiving the good, dominated by it and desiring to bring it forth.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*.

'The most astonishing thing about the human being is the range of his vision, his gaze into the infinite distance, his lonely passion for ideas and ideals for which he will endure suffering, privation, and death, in the profound conviction that if nothing is worth dying for nothing is worth living for.' Lord Boothby, *I Fight to Live*.

'People at every stage of life, and whatever their job, must be enabled to see, and still more to feel, beyond its immediate frontiers; to feel its connection with, and place in, a larger whole; its intrinsic importance, and its far-reaching results to others as well as to themselves if well done.' . . . In the words of Nigel Balchin's brilliant dictum an incentive 'must be something that a man can see and feel all around him on a wet Monday morning—not a huge principle in a public speech'. Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

4. *Common sense about idealism*. 'Even as a young man Goethe never set himself impossible ideals, and he consequently avoided the frustrations and discouragements which so endanger the over-idealistic. There is no one so dangerous, he wisely observed, as a disillusioned idealist.' L. A. Willoughby, 'The Living Goethe', A broadcast talk, *The Listener*, 1 September 1949.

'Lang would sometimes recall the advice Jowett had once given him. . . . "Don't expect too much, and don't attempt too little."' J. G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*.

'Human beings, if they are to remain emotionally healthy, must have fun. The attempt to make the individual take an excessively long-term view of his life is itself a short-sighted social policy.' C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*.

5. *Ultimate human values*. 'In beauty and truth and goodness man finds his highest satisfactions: the whole experience of the race attests this fact: and to crown these qualities with love is to come as close to the pinnacle of human experience as is possible.' Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

'This species *Homo sapiens* is not supreme merely because it is the most cunning of all the beasts and so most capable of making its own stock survive and driving all others to the wall. . . . Along with man's growth in power to destroy has emerged a power to co-operate and emancipate. At the faintest dawn of his civilization we find him domesticating a wolf type and making it capable of devoted friendship.' Gerald Heard, *Is God Evident?*

6. *The value of poetry*. 'In our age and education the rationalist is apt to crowd the poet out, and in consequence we unconsciously lose the power

of discerning realities which must be taken into account if our philosophy is to be adequate to the facts.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education and the Spirit of the Age*.

'If it was quite certain that the world had no meaning or if it was quite certain what its meaning was there could be no poetry. Poetry arises out of its uncertainty.' Christopher Hollis, *The Observer*, 28 December 1958.

'The catastrophe which threatens us is so gigantic that I think it can only be dealt with in poetical terms. We live in this threatened world and seem to be continually teasing it to destroy us. The theme is so tragic that I think only a poet could do it justice.' E. M. Forster in an interview, *The Observer*, 28 December 1958.

7. *The value and limitations of science*. 'In one sense, Science and Philosophy are merely different aspects of one great enterprise of the human mind . . . the task of raising humanity above the general level of animal life.' Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*.

'Science, it is true, shows us remarkable and highly surprising things about man, but as it attains greater clarity, the more evident it becomes that man as a whole can never become the object of scientific investigation. Man is always more than he knows about himself.' K. Jaspers, *The Perennial Scope of Philosophy*.

'The obvious fact is that man is a child of nature, subject to its vicissitudes, compelled by its necessities, driven by its impulses, and confined within the brevity of the years which nature permits in its varied organic forms. . . . The other less obvious fact is that man is a spirit who stands outside of nature, life, himself, his reason and the world.' R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man, A Christian Interpretation*.

8. *The value of religion*. 'For years I was as dogmatic an atheist as could be. It was when I understood for the first time the later quartets of Beethoven that I began to doubt my rationalism. . . . Without creative urge and imagination man would be less than the animals. There is for me no accounting in terms of evolution or survival-value for the sense of beauty, for laughter and tears that come and go without material prompting, for the ache after the perfect form and the ineluctable vision.' Neville Cardus, *Autobiography*.

'We must not take for granted that the claims to a genuine cognition in religious and mystical experience of a different aspect of reality are necessarily to be dismissed as unjustified just because they do not fit in with a materialism suggested but by no means proved or now even really supported by modern science.' A. C. Ewing, *op. cit.*

'This sphere is the realm of religion: the sphere beyond knowledge and certainty, where ultimate mystery itself adds a new dimension to meaning. Out of the silence of infinite space comes a sound: the birth cry of human consciousness. Against the enveloping darkness man throws the searchlight of his intelligence. As man projects further the cone of light, through his gifts of interpretation, he likewise widens the perimeter of the surrounding darkness. The ultimate gift of conscious life is a sense of the mystery that encompasses it.' Lewis Mumford, *op. cit.*

'The Christian faith represents deeper sources of insight into the meaning of life, and, therefore, also greater sources of power for the fulfilment of life than has been assumed in the main currents of modern culture. . . . Wisdom about our destiny is dependent upon a humble recognition of the limits of our knowledge and our power. Our reliable understanding is the fruit of "grace" in which faith completes our ignorance without pretending to possess its certainties as knowledge: and in which contrition mitigates our pride without destroying our hope.' R. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*

9. *The limitations of language.* 'There ought to be some way of dry-cleaning words. Love, purity, goodness, spirit—a pile of dirty linen waiting for the laundress. How then, to—not to love, since it's an unwashed handkerchief—feel, say, persistent affectionate interest in people?' Aldous Huxley, *Eyeless in Gaza*.

'Philosophy is an attempt to express the infinity of the universe in terms of the limitations of language.' A. N. Whitehead, *Essays in Science and Philosophy*.

'Human life is driven forward by its dim apprehension of notions too general for its existing language.' A. N. Whitehead, quoted by C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*.

10. *Criticisms of theories.* (a) *They are platitudinous.* 'The difference between a platitude and a truth is after all only that between an incontrovertible fact *stated*, and a deeply experienced fact *felt*.' Quoted by Phyllis Bottome in her book, *Alfred Adler*.

(b) *They are utopian.* 'It is of no avail to call "utopian" what we have not yet tested with our powers.' Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia*.

11. *The unity of Western culture.* 'The study of the past carries us back to the unity that lies behind many of our divergences, the common background that links even the sciences and the arts. The unique development of European science could not have taken place if the West had not been in the first place the seat of a great humanist civilisation.' Herbert Butterfield in *The Observer*, 9 July 1961.

2

EDUCATION

THE word 'education' can be used in two senses: in a broad sense to designate all the influences to which everyone is continually subjected by the physical, biological and social environments in which he lives, and in the more usual narrower sense to designate the special influences organized and devised by teachers in schools and places of further education.¹ We say that we are educated by travel or marriage, and more generally by life—at home, work and play. But we give a very different answer to the question, *Where were you educated?* on a form of application for a post. It is generally clear from the context in which sense the word 'education' is being used.

One of the special difficulties, when discussing education, springs from the fact that everyone, having experienced it, has his own very definite opinions about it. Familiarity with education may not often breed contempt but it tends to create a knowing and sometimes a 'know-all' attitude. Parents of school pupils, employers of school leavers, governors of schools, politicians and of course educationists—they all feel competent to express

¹ For convenience the word 'school' is used henceforward in this book to denote, where appropriate in the context, 'school' or 'place of further education'. In Britain schools are of two main kinds: primary and secondary. Primary schools are subdivided into nursery, infants' and junior schools. There are several varieties of secondary school: grammar, technical, modern, and schools called bilateral, multilateral or comprehensive in which two or more so-called types of secondary education are given.

There are several kinds of places of further education: universities, training and technical colleges, colleges for adult education, evening institutes—and county colleges, yet to be established, which will give part-time further education until the age of 18 to all who have left school.

decided views on education in private, public and committee discussions.

Some students training to be teachers adopt a similar attitude to the study of education. They pay respectful attention to the study of other subjects—academic and practical—but the study of the theory of education appears to them to be unnecessary and therefore boring. They overlook the fact that, in a few years' time, they will expect to be recognized by laymen as professional experts, and that they will not gain such recognition solely on the basis of competence in curriculum subjects.

Laymen and Education

Many laymen are suspicious or afraid (they may affect to be contemptuous) of academic people; they call them 'clever' and at best they are condescendingly tolerant of them. They were perhaps academic failures at school—at the age of 10 or 11 in the selection examination for secondary education, or at the age of 16 in the general certificate examination. It is a sobering thought that, judged solely by an examination criterion as is still customary in many quarters, most adults alive today were academic failures at school. Some are still worried or sore about it because the enormity of their failure was impressed on them by ambitious parents whose disappointment they sensed even if it was not expressed. Others have absorbed from their group culture a 'couldn't-care-less' attitude, or even a feeling of pride about their lack of academic success.

The successful business man who refers to his back-room boys as 'brains', a useful commodity which he cheerfully boasts he can buy cheaply, is not unknown.¹ Happily this attitude is rapidly becoming out-of-date, as commerce and industry become technically more scientific and administratively more complicated, and as education becomes more clearly relevant to life. Experience of modern life is changing the attitude of

¹ His grandfather referred to his employees as 'hands'.

many laymen ; it is teaching them that, whatever kind of education they themselves received, education for everyone today is, or should be, the process of learning how to live in difficult times. The prospect is so confusing—dangerous in some ways and dazzling in others—that everyone is beginning to see that the nation needs, not only ‘hands’ and ‘brains’, but wise educated persons. Many an unacademic layman is gaining a useful intuitive appreciation of a scale of educational values relevant to modern needs. He may have no definite conception of what constitutes an educated person, but he recognizes and appreciates a wise person when he meets one. Probably he never asks himself what education is, but he knows, at least in a general way, what he wants from it. Faced in a particular situation with a specific problem involving the ends of education, he has a contribution to make. It is here, in discussions on ends as distinct from means, that layman and professional meet on common ground with a possibility of mutual enlightenment.

The Professional Status of Educationists

Professional and lay scales of educational values are, however, seldom in complete accord. It is one of the functions of educationists to educate laymen in these matters, and success in this field is one of the surest ways of raising the status of educationists in the eyes of the world. It is not easy. Some laymen are keenly interested, for example: parents (the clients of teachers), governors (overseers of schools), members of education committees (employers of teachers and education officials). But even these laymen do not accept educationists as professional experts with the same readiness and deference as they accept doctors and solicitors. Education is different from these professions; it does not appear to depend on a well-defined body of special knowledge which, like knowledge of medicine and law, is by tradition mysterious and almost awe-inspiring to the uninitiated. It is true that this tradition of awe and

mystery has been shaken by modern popularizing, but it has not been destroyed.

Education has little of the tradition of awe and mystery. The extent to which modern organized education rests on special knowledge is still not generally recognized; it is not fully recognized even by some teachers. The knowledge is of four kinds: (1) of educational ends or values derived from a philosophy of life; (2) of pupils as individuals and as members of groups, small and large; (3) of curriculum subjects; (4) of the techniques of teaching, the means by which the ends of education are achieved.

All laymen have at least some rudimentary general knowledge of these four kinds, and that is the main reason why they are reluctant to give educationists full professional status. If educationists are to be generally accepted as professional experts, they need much more than an intelligent layman's knowledge; they need professional training and prolonged study as well as professional experience. Thus equipped, they will be in a position to function as experts with professional status, acceptable educators of laymen as well as of their children.

Relationships Between Laymen and Educationists

Educationists need, however, to be inoculated against a serious occupational disease. Its symptom is a complacent air of conscious superiority. An excellent antidote is participation in group discussions especially with interested laymen. It is tempting, but very foolish, to adopt a superior attitude and assume that laymen—parents, employers and politicians—have no helpful contributions to make to educational discussions. It is good for educationists, working with enthusiasm in school or office, to be made to look at education through non-professional spectacles and to realize how other people see it. Discussion between laymen and professionals in an atmosphere permeated by good human relationships leads almost inevit-

ably to a mutual adjustment of views. It is a valuable means of providing part of the necessary education of educationists. This fact is sometimes appreciated by teachers in discussions with parents, but it is most vividly brought home when teachers become heads of schools, inspectors or administrators, and experience the excellent discipline of having to expound and defend their educational views and proposals before lay committees. The educationist then learns how valuable it is to look anew at that deceptively simple question: *What is education?* and to re-examine the bases of his educational faith. He learns how necessary it is to think clearly about education so that he may speak simply and concisely, and with that blend of practical commonsense and idealism which alone can move committees. He may learn also how important it is to make a friend of the local press. In all his public relations work (and it is far more important than is generally recognized among educationists) a simple philosophy of life and education is more valuable than academic knowledge.

Such a philosophy is of course valuable to everyone in all branches of educational work for it helps to transmute knowledge of all kinds into wisdom. It is in fact the beginning of wisdom about the whole art of living and educating, about the use of psychology, the value of academic knowledge and muscular skill, and about the evaluation of teaching techniques. No teacher can begin to search for it too soon, nor continue to acquire it too long—a conclusion that is of particular importance to teachers who are aspirants for promotion and to those who have achieved it.

The one kind of professional expertness that impresses most laymen is a teacher's ability to control a large class; it is only necessary to ask them to imagine themselves in front of a class. They probably think of class control as a trick acquired by rule-of-thumb practice and have little idea how closely it is connected with a teacher's special knowledge of the subjects and the

children he is teaching—with academic and psychological knowledge neither of which many laymen value highly.

In addition to being interested in the ends of education, laymen, especially parents, are often curious about the means—the methods that teachers use. Remembering how they themselves learned and were taught they are sometimes critical. It is a truism to say they should not try to teach teachers their job in the technical sense. For example, it is not the function of parents in parent-teacher associations to tell teachers how to teach reading or how to organize schools. The details of teaching method and school organization must to a large extent remain a closed book to laymen. Nevertheless they should not be left completely in the dark about even some of the technicalities of the teacher's art. For example, methods of teaching young children have changed so radically since parents were at school that they appear strange, perhaps foolish, especially if parents learn of them only from their children; some parents are alarmed because children seem to spend much time merely playing, because they are late learning to read, because they do physical exercises barefoot and in the minimum of clothing. It is wise, therefore, to reassure parents by giving them some information about modern methods, to take them into confidence about many details of school life, and to take the initiative in doing so rather than wait until there are complaints to answer.

It may be objected that parents should not question teaching methods, and that it is risky, or at best useless, to attempt to give them technical information. There is some substance in these objections. Lacking the necessary experience and being in a special emotional relationship with their children, parents are unable to appreciate fully the information given; they are unlikely to be able to convert it into knowledge, and still less into wisdom. From this point of view the sharing of technical information does not appear to be worth while. But there is another

point of view, for it is the act of taking parents into confidence that is important; it encourages them to take a responsible attitude to their children by indicating tacitly that teachers recognize to whom the children really belong even when they are in school.¹ As so much is now done in school which seems to relieve parents of responsibility, everything possible should be done to emphasize their responsibility; and indirect methods are the most tactful and effective.

Parents' responsibility is clearly stated in Section 36 of the Education Act: 'It shall be the duty of the parent of every child of compulsory school age to cause him to receive efficient full-time education suitable to his age, ability and aptitude, either by regular attendance at school or otherwise.' Their responsibility is also acknowledged in Section 76 which has special relevance to religious and to secondary education: '... the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, children are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.' The giving of information to parents is fundamentally important because it helps to build up mutual confidence without which teachers and parents cannot begin to learn how to talk the same language and to communicate effectively with one another. Mutual confidence leads to a sharing of confidences and responsibilities.

Education is everybody's business; and not because of any universal aggressive desire to invade foreign territory but because education impinges on the lives of everybody all the time. We are all in it—educating others and being educated ourselves, helping the education of others or hindering it—and

¹ Teachers talk of 'my children' and 'my school': education officers of 'my area' and 'my committee'. These are usually no more than convenient and amiable ways of speaking but they may indicate a proprietary attitude; in any case they are sometimes interpreted in this way and resented.

it ill behoves anyone to take up a mind-your-own-business attitude. The ultimate responsibility for education rests with laymen: Secretaries and Ministers of State, Members of Parliament and County Councils, ratepayers, taxpayers and particularly parents. They employ as their agents lay governors and professionals of several kinds, for example, teachers and administrators.

Amateur and Professional Educators

Much of the responsibility for educating people obviously rests with professional teachers—but not the whole of it. Many amateur educators are at work. It is important to reflect, for example, that compulsory attendance at school as early as the age of five as in Britain is very exceptional, and that, looking back in history, far more children have been educated by parents in homes and craftsmen in workshops than by teachers in schools. Here then are two questions worth discussing: Is it wise to send children to nursery schools for whole days at the age of 3? Is it wise to keep pupils full-time at school beyond the age of 16 if they are to earn their living as craftsmen?

In essence the process of education is the same, whether the educators are amateurs or professionals. For example, children need to learn the art of human communication. Time was when face-to-face communication was the only kind; a few spoken words helped out by gestures were enough, and amateurs (parents and playmates) gave all the necessary education in language. Today, amateur elementary linguistic education must be continued, amplified and refined by professionals. Children must develop the art of speaking; they must learn to read, they must get some precise understanding of many words in different contexts in their own and perhaps in foreign languages; they must learn to supplement verbal symbols by musical and mathematical symbols; they need to get some insight into the facts of history, geography and science, and into the truths

conveyed by words in literature—truths that often lie beyond verifiable facts. The more expert the professional teacher of language, the more he realises how urgently important his work is, how closely integrated language is with all human affairs as well as with all curriculum subjects, and how much remains to be discovered about the science and art of education in human communication through the use of symbols.

To take a second example, parents have probably always tried to teach children to be 'good'. They have based this kind of education on the beliefs—superstitious and religious—and the customs that formed part of their tribal or national cultures. So important has moral and religious education appeared to be that, long before men instituted any comprehensive public service of education, they employed specialists to help parents in this work and to supplement parental teaching; and it is noteworthy that these teachers in places of worship were accorded dignified professional status. British culture today owes a very great deal to the weekly worship and instruction over many years in churches and chapels where people, irrespective of class or intellectual ability, were helped to form a common philosophy of life. Culture is like capital investment; each generation lives on it to some extent but to avoid bankruptcy it must maintain all that is sound and continue to make new contributions. In our spiritual and moral life we are probably living on capital to a greater extent than is generally recognized, and it is a question for discussion whether we are poorer in spiritual and moral resources than our grandfathers were.

Some people hold the view that, since religious beliefs are so varied, personal and intense, it would be prudent to leave religious education to parents and specialist professionals, the clergy and ministers of denominational churches. This is the official policy in many countries; homes and churches are responsible for religious education, schools for secular education. Everyone would agree that children receive much valuable

moral training as they absorb the secular elements of their national culture, and that important moral education is given through the medium of secular subjects and the general life of schools because teachers have faith in the nature and destiny of their pupils as human beings. Many people, however, hold the view that ethics without organized religion tend to be unstable, and that belief in God is a necessary foundation for morality. However that may be, a large majority of British Members of Parliament, some of them no doubt having little personal interest in religious institutions, have always taken the view that, notwithstanding many practical difficulties, religion is such an important element in national culture and individual lives that it ought not to be excluded from the curriculum of the nation's schools. After much discussion—which years ago was acrimonious—complicated, detailed, compromise arrangements have from time to time been evolved. The latest, reached after patient negotiation, are embodied in the Education Act, 1944, and subsequent amendments.

Two kinds of school are recognized: voluntary schools, most of them provided by the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, and county schools provided by the local education authorities. Denominational religious instruction may be given in voluntary schools. In county schools religious instruction must be undenominational and in accordance with an agreed syllabus, that is to say, a syllabus agreed by a conference of representatives of religious denominations, teachers' associations and the local education authority. An agreed syllabus may not include 'any catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination'. In all county and voluntary schools, the school day must begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance. Parents can, however, request that their children be excused from attendance at religious worship and instruction. The conscience of teachers, too, is safeguarded; no teacher can be dis-

qualified by reason of his religious opinions, or be required to give religious instruction.

Physical education gives a third clear example of the way in which education by amateurs has become inadequate. Time was when children grew up in an environment where, with amateur help and encouragement from parents and playmates, they had enough varied exercise to ensure adequate all-round physical development. Today amateur education and unorganized games are not enough. Professional teachers, gymnasias and special equipment are needed: climbing apparatus as a substitute for trees, coconut mats for grass, swimming baths for the sea, rivers and streams. Playgrounds and playing fields are essential and to some extent exercises are needed as a substitute for exercise. As with all other subjects, physical education has become more advanced and efficient, as a response not only to changes in man's environment but also to his never-ceasing quest for excellence. The science and art of movement and physical fitness are being studied and applied, and the results are to be seen in the continual establishment of new records of many kinds: average longevity, records in athletics, swimming and mountaineering.

In order to illustrate the facts that education today has emerged and grown from rudimentary education given by amateurs, and that amateurs still have a part to play especially in the earliest stages, we have sketched some of the developments in three important branches: human communication, religion and physical development. It would be an interesting exercise to make similar sketches of the emergence of professional education in science, the visual arts, history, geography and music. Such sketches could be elementary (like those we have given), derived from personal experience and reflection, or they could be developed into detailed pictures by studying anthropology and the history of education. A few simplified broad sketches are enough for our present purpose which is

to illustrate a fact that helps us to see organized education in proper perspective: the fact that the complex service of education today, with its Acts of Parliament, Education Committee Rules, administrators in offices, teachers and ancillary workers in schools, has been devised to do essentially the same job that amateurs used to do when life was simpler. Amateurs still have educational functions, but so much recorded knowledge has accumulated and life has become so complex that the education they give must be supplemented, extended, systematized and in some ways corrected by professionals. Pupils must go to school to continue their education—to be taught and to learn under specially controlled conditions. In school they continue to pursue the main activities of human beings, activities of the human spirit as they are often called; but as children grow older, these activities are differentiated more and more—first into projects and finally into subjects of the curriculum (Latin *currere*, to run) as we call them in school. But these dull words, ‘curriculum subjects’, should not be allowed to obscure two important facts: first, subjects are really the product of human activities, and if pupils are to appreciate them they should study them and use them in active ways; secondly, the curriculum, notwithstanding the suggestion of running on a race-course that the word carries, is really a slice of life, a specially selected course in living, and everyone, especially parents and pupils, should be able to see that it is relevant to life. Pupils go to school so that they may continue to learn a way of life, but a more worthy and satisfying way of life than would otherwise be possible. The purpose of education in schools is to help pupils to absorb the best elements of their national culture so that they will grow into mature persons of good character and many interests. They will then appreciate that the good life is a reality, and gain some experience of what it means. Such persons will contribute to cultural maintenance and development rather than to cultural deterioration—intellectually if

they have the ability; socially, morally and spiritually, at least in modest ways, however little intellectual ability they may have.

In the development of education, as in that of many other activities, specialization has become necessary: the general activities of life have been divided and sub-divided into special subjects; amateurs have been supplemented and in many parts of the educational field replaced by specialist professionals. There will, however, always be a place in education for amateur educators if only because education is nothing less than the process of learning and teaching how to live. Everyone is at times an educator for good or ill. We need not always use words in order to educate. In fact, some of our educational influence may be quite out of tune with the meanings of any words we speak. Our demeanour, attitudes, actions may speak so clearly and loudly that people do not remember, perhaps they do not even hear, what we say. The truth of this statement is brought home to us when we reflect on those who have had most influence on us in our education. We remember them vividly long after we have forgotten their words.

Everyone helps to provide education in schools by paying rates and taxes. In addition a great deal of voluntary help is given by parents, care workers, governors, members of education committees, and by teachers themselves. Professional educationists sometimes overlook the voluntary, and sometimes self-sacrificing, nature of the service given by governors and committee members. Conversely, the public are prone to assume that teachers are paid for all they do, and to overlook the voluntary, and at times self-sacrificing, nature of much of the service that teachers give. These are two examples of failures in personal relationships springing from a lack of power to see others as we see ourselves.

Teachers are professionals in two senses of the word. First, they are paid—though inadequately as is now generally ad-

mitted. Secondly, they are professionals in the sense of being members of a profession.

There are two main distinguishing marks of a profession compared with other occupations. First, no one can enter it without acquiring the relatively advanced, broad body of knowledge which is its basis. Second, its members work for love as well as for money; they are in a sense both amateurs (Latin *amare*, to love) and professionals. We usually express this fact by saying that professional people have a professional attitude towards their work. It is important that this attitude should not be exploited. No one, for example, should harbour the thought that low pay can be justified because it confers a superior quasi-amateur status; the snobbish distinction between amateurs who can afford to work or play for love and professionals who have to do it for money is in any case outmoded.

The distinction between professions and other occupations is becoming somewhat blurred; many non-professional workers are experts in learning or skill, and often in both; and they often give more than, strictly speaking, they are paid for. The distinction between professions and other occupations is largely traditional and it rests today largely on the depth and extent of the necessary basic knowledge. As basic knowledge replaces rule-of-thumb methods in occupations now classed as non-professional or doubtfully professional there is no reason, other than tradition, why workers in them should not earn and be accorded professional status. But a more general and fundamentally more important distinction is between occupations and vocations: between work that is merely endured and work that is both endured and enjoyed as 'a calling'. Transforming occupations of all kinds into vocations is one of the most important and difficult functions of education.

The Purposes of Education

What is the use of education? Many answers are given be-

cause education involves everyone and touches life at many points. People give or imply answers differing in content and emphasis according to their point of view, their dominant interest and their wisdom. Many answers are implicit in emphatic, re-iterated complaints: earnest observers complain that many young people use their leisure-time in anti-social ways; worried citizens complain that only a small percentage have enough public spirit to use their vote in local elections; dissatisfied employers complain that young people cannot spell and know no geography. The answer of over-anxious parents is implicit in the well-known stories, some of them no doubt apocryphal, about the expectations of five-year-olds when they first go to school. At the end of her first day a little girl complains to her mother that she has not been taught to read; a boy, after an hour of 'free activity' packs up his ruler and pencil box (provided by his fond parents) and exclaims, 'I'd better be going home. I shall never win a scholarship at this rate.'

Answers implying that education is the means of training young people to get a good living spring, not from a wrong, but from an incomplete philosophy of education. It is right and natural, as far as it goes, that parents should think of education in this way. All parents who are worth their salt (and they still form the great majority, whatever pessimists may say) meet here on common ground: the working man anxious that his child should go to a grammar school, and the professor of education anxious that his child should go to a university. Parents are joined by employers whose answers, if they do not imply that education should train young people to be worth their pay on the first day, at least imply that it should lay a good foundation for training on the job. Parents may concentrate on thinking how their children will get their livelihood, employers on how their employees will earn their pay. But neither parents nor employers necessarily take a narrow view of

education; they would agree that education should produce young people not merely able to get a livelihood, but willing to earn it. Experience has taught them that efficiency, which is necessary if all parties—parents, employers and young workers—are to be satisfied, depends on character as well as on skill, knowledge and examination successes, on quality as well as on qualifications. Parents and employers are ready to join the earnest laymen who expect education to train young people to use their leisure-time sensibly and well, but they would go further; they are interested in the ways young people use their time whenever they are 'on their own'—all the time that is left to their own responsibility: time spent in the family circle and unsupervised working-time, as well as free leisure-time. Implicit in their practical philosophy of education is the idea that young people should be educated in the responsible use of freedom. It is fundamentally the same idea that, in the larger conduct of public affairs, underlies Western social democracy. All responsible laymen, whether they think about education primarily as parents, employers or citizens, have much in common in what they expect from it. They expect it to help people to grow in quality and to get qualifications, and they look for the results of education to show themselves—as character, knowledge and skill—in the four main aspects of life: at all ages in family and private personal life; at adolescent and adult ages in life as workers earning a livelihood and citizens exercising civic responsibilities.

When we state the purposes of education in general terms such as these it is clear that professional educationists have much in common with responsible laymen. But they need something more, for, unlike laymen, they meet many diverse educational problems, all calling for wise judgments and quick decisions in a variety of situations. Educational ideas implicit in a practical philosophy are not enough; they must be held explicitly rather than implicitly; they must be founded on an

educational faith broader and steadier than that usually and very naturally adopted by laymen with narrow and sometimes conflicting interests in education. The educational views of party politicians, for example, may veer right round when they turn from considering political programmes to thinking of the education of their own children. An educationist needs to see education steadily and whole, so that he is immune to the kinds of inconsistencies of which laymen are often guilty and professionals not always guiltless. He needs a sympathetic understanding of the ways of life of people very different from himself, and his view of education should be inspired by a worthy view of life in general. In a word, he needs wisdom—the kind of wisdom that will help him to steer a steady course, and give educational leadership to diverse people in diverse circumstances: to pupils and parents, governors and junior colleagues, if he is a teacher; to all these and in addition to members of education committees, if he is an inspector or education officer.

But humility is part of the wisdom of an educationist, and on occasion he gratefully learns from those to whom he usually gives leadership. A sense of proportion is another part of his wisdom. He believes in education; in times of study and moments of reflection he is vividly aware of the ideal ends towards which he is striving and he tries to shape his ends accordingly. But in the daily round he is generally content to trust to the unconscious influence of this faith and to concentrate, with his feet on the ground, on dealing with the little practical problems that crowd in upon him. As M. Hercule Poirot says, 'Everything does not depend on Mrs. Blank of Little-Blank-in-the-Marsh. And if she is led to think it does, it will not be good for her character. While she thinks of the part she can play in world affairs, the baby pulls over the kettle.' If we keep in mind the need for the saving graces of humility and a sense of proportion we can safely and usefully search for

educational wisdom by studying theories—the results of thinking and reflecting about life and education—as we are doing in this book.

The Principle of Relevance

The first and perhaps the most important step on the road to educational wisdom is to get a clear realization that life and education are in reality indivisible. Life is education; education in school should give pupils a taste of the good life—life in a specially concentrated form free from many of the regrettable features of life outside. When we look at education in this way, the number of possible repercussions is endless, and we have already suggested and implied many of them. One of the most important in relation to education in school is *the principle of relevance*: school life, with its curriculum, syllabuses, lessons, functions, games, societies, should be relevant to life as it is today and as we expect and hope it will be; and as far as possible it should be seen to be relevant. Although in some ways education in school must be artificial, and although it must reflect a more or less ideal way of life, it should not give the impression of being wholly divorced from real life as the pupils know it, and as their parents and, towards the end of their school careers, they themselves hope it will be.

One method of counteracting such an impression is by using the vocational motive in the later stages of secondary education. It has long been used indirectly in grammar schools and directly in secondary technical schools, and it is being used increasingly in secondary modern schools. Its use does not mean that secondary education is conceived narrowly as a training for an occupation; on the contrary, experience has proved that interest in studies related to a broad group of occupations stimulates an interest in other studies and in school life generally. It is an excellent method of convincing pupils and their parents that secondary education has at

least one real purpose; appreciation of its other purposes, equally but not so obviously real to many laymen, is then a possibility.¹

The principle of relevance is the justification for many other features of modern education, for example: the close linking of many studies in primary schools with children's out-of-school activities; the interest taken by teachers in the out-of-school activities of their adolescent pupils; the use in school of newspapers, films, school broadcasts and television; the use of projects and environmental studies as one approach to the study of history, geography, science and art; the use of school time for educational visits and school journeys; the importance attached to a democratic atmosphere in schools and to the provision of opportunities for pupils to exercise free, responsible choice; towards the end of school life, the drawing together, in frank and friendly discussions, of moral lessons taught by school life and the study of subjects, especially religion, history, literature and science—discussions that will remind pupils that there are unpleasant as well as pleasant facts of life even for adults, discussions that will do something to ensure that young people go into the world not entirely unprepared for shocks, not entirely unaware that there will be personal adjustments to be made, temptations to be resisted, disappointments and frustrations to be borne as well as delights to be enjoyed.

The importance and subtlety of the principle of relevance is well illustrated by the following incident. An inspector was introduced in a comprehensive school to a group of pupils about to leave school. Conversation revealed that, while some were going to occupations of their choice like nursing and teaching, others had failed to achieve their ambitions. Conversation turned to the topic of disappointment and the young people were obviously surprised to learn that their visitor had

¹ For a full discussion of this important topic, see *Special Studies in Secondary Schools*, London County Council Pamphlet (Staples Press, 1957).

had his share. He then mentioned the danger of nursing grievances and becoming grievance hunters. 'Oh, yes,' said one boy, 'it says something in *Othello* about that. "Patience . . . patience . . . makes a mockery." I can't quite remember it.' It was agreed that the passage was worth looking up. Here is part of it:

To mourn a mischief that is past and gone
Is the next way to draw new mischief on.
What cannot be preserved when fortune takes,
Patience her injury a mockery makes.
The robbed that smiles steals something from the thief;
He robs himself that spends a bootless grief.

(Act 1, Sc. 3)

The boy who tried to quote had in his own words 'failed the scholarship'; he had never shown interest in *Othello*, and in fact it was only because of organization difficulties that he had been put in the group which was studying the play for the G.C.E. examination. Academic study for a public examination is seen to be relevant to life (that is one of the reasons why grammar schools are popular); a light touch at the right time can make academic study relevant even for pupils who have no vocational motive for pursuing it.

The principle of relevance is clearly exemplified in university, training college and technical college courses. It is specially exemplified in the study of educational theory, for, as we have argued, this study has explicit relevance not only to the vocation or profession of teaching but also to the whole art of living, to the nature and destiny of persons as individuals and as members of communities. It should make more explicit the fact that all studies in a teacher-training course have a double reference: to life and to education. It should give new insights into the meaning and purposes of education, into the significance of many of the experiences of ordinary as well as of professional life and of many of the vicarious experiences obtained by

reading of all kinds, by visits to theatres and cinemas, and by listening to broadcasts and viewing television programmes. One result of the study of educational theory should be an ability to think, perhaps to talk, and possibly to write, sensibly but not necessarily learnedly about education and particularly about its practical problems such as curriculum content, teaching methods and school discipline. The ultimate result, however, is more private—a deeper personal insight, not communicable perhaps, into the significance and interest of all the varied experiences of life.

What is Education?

The first step to educational wisdom—a clear realization (not to be confused with a mere verbal assent) that life and education are indivisible—takes us on to the road we tried to follow in Chapter 1 in our search for wisdom. Meanings and purposes are the same for education as for life; the content of both concepts is so vast, the range of their values so wide, that neither can be defined briefly or precisely. Many short statements about education have nevertheless been made, for example:

I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war. (Milton, *Of Education*)

Education should make people fit to live, and fit to live with.

Education is what remains when everything learnt at school has been forgotten.

They are attractive and, so far as they go, useful; resounding prose and witty epigrams make us sit up and take notice. But the word 'education' is a symbol for a great concept and the full meaning of education, as of all great concepts, can be grasped only after much varied experience that makes us look

at it, and think about it from many points of view; and then it can be expressed, if at all, only in long descriptions. Short, precise, clear-cut, all-embracing definitions have always been dear to the heart of men, but they tend to become as cut-and-dried as slogans. Precision about great concepts can be as deceptive as it is attractive.

SUMMARY

The following summary refers to both Chapters 1 and 2, for, although life was discussed in one and education in the other, they are really indivisible.

When we looked at education from the point of view of ordinary people with some sense of responsibility, we saw it with a strong emphasis on material values, and some emphasis on moral values especially in so far as they tend to enhance material success.

When we looked from the point of view of the body of amateur educators to which everyone belongs, sometimes deliberately but most often unwittingly, we saw education as the process of passing on from generation to generation the national way of life, modified by ways of life characteristic of smaller groups. We then saw organized education in perspective as a continuation and supplement of informal education.

When we looked at education from the point of view of men who by study and reflection have gained deeper insights than are possible for ordinary people busy with their daily cares and chores, we saw that there is much more in education than most people realize.

Having gained some insight into the significance of the word 'person', we saw education as a process designed to help all human beings to grow into persons—creatures who are not means, to be owned or used like things, machines, plants or animals, but ends in themselves, children of God, capable of

living personal lives above the animal level, using freedom wisely, entering into personal relationships and achieving dignified status.

Having gained some insight into the meaning of the term 'value', we saw education as a process activated not only by material values, but by a whole scale of values, and at best inspired by those values, called 'ultimate' or 'supreme', that are at the top of the scale.

Having gained some insight into the meaning of the words 'spiritual' and 'good' we saw education as a process of helping human beings to satisfy their spiritual as well as their material needs so that they transcend their animal nature and grow into persons as fully as possible according to their age and abilities. We saw education as a process in which they learn gradually by experience that the good life, a life that is good to live and really satisfying, depends on two kinds of necessary 'goods': a variety of material things that are obviously useful, and a range of spiritual values that are useful in a different but nevertheless very real sense. The spiritual values include freedom and love; these enable people to realize and achieve other values, culminating in values that are ends in themselves, the supreme human values of truth, beauty and goodness.

We noted the universal human interest in knowing what is real in life. The nature of reality is one of the most difficult problems of philosophy, but we gained some slight insight into the meaning of the word 'reality'—at least to the extent that we can see it is reasonable to believe that reality is not synonymous with material things but includes all the human values. We then saw education as a process in which people are set on the right road to discovering which values are really important in life, and to learning how to place these real values in the order which in the long run is most satisfying; that is to say, we saw education as a process that helps people to live a life regulated by a full scale of values that is in accord with reality.

We gained some deeper insight into the meaning of the anthropologists' term 'culture'—a relatively stable but never static way of life created by our forefathers, and maintained and modified by each generation. We then saw informal education as an inevitable process of helping people to absorb the national and group cultures into which they are born; we saw organized education as a more discerning, nurturing process specifically designed to help pupils, in creative ways as far as possible, to absorb and maintain the good and to reject and destroy the bad elements in their cultures, a process designed to set everyone, according to his age and ability, on the road to making a creative contribution, however modest, to the worthy development of his cultures, and to help everyone to see that national culture is ultimately a group component of a world culture.

These inquiries into the significance of persons, value, reality and culture helped us to gain a deeper insight into the meaning of life and particularly into the meaning of the good life. They helped us to appreciate the value of skills and knowledge, and of insight into the facts of history, geography, mathematics and science, and the special value today of insight into the contribution that scientists, using scientific method, have made, and, if statesmen are wise will continue to make, to the betterment of human life.

But beyond, however far man may develop his knowledge of facts and the relations between facts, we found that there was still mystery—the mystery of the ultimate nature and destiny of man. We then saw that some kind of religious faith was an essential human need, and that education should help people not only to acquire knowledge, but also to share at least some of the insights of artists, makers of literature, musicians, mystics, philosophers, saints and theologians.

As we gained insight into the meaning and mystery of life, we saw organized education as a way of life in which the main

human activities—art, human communication, physical movement and growth, religion, science and the study of man in time and space—are divided and sub-divided, for the convenience of learners and teachers, into subjects of the curriculum.

From whatever angle we approached education, we reached broadly the same conclusion: education is the process of learning how to live. It has many facets: learning how to gain a livelihood, to enjoy necessary recreation, to become decent private individuals, friendly group members, efficient workers and responsible citizens. Education includes all this and more besides, for ultimately it is a single, whole process in which people learn by experience, however imperfectly, what it means to live the good life. Comprehensive education of this kind is called a 'general' or a 'liberal' education; it is a process of enabling people not merely to live but to live abundantly.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Glaucon, An Inquiry into the Aims of Education, M. V. C. Jeffreys (Pitman, 1950); *Philosophy of Education*, W. H. Kilpatrick (Macmillan, 1951); *Growing up in a Modern Society*, Marjorie Reeves (Univ. Lond. Press, 1952); *Education and Society*, A. K. C. Ottaway (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953); *Education and the Modern Mind*, W. R. Niblett (Faber, 1954); *Beyond Neutrality*, M. V. C. Jeffreys (Pitman, 1955); *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, D. J. O'Connor (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957); *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, S. J. Curtis (Univ. Tutorial Press, 1958).

Discussion Topics. 1. *Perennial values of education.* 'The living of people is the primary value; the good life is the inclusive aim; morality is a social necessity; democracy is the chosen way of life.' W. H. Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*.

'If we are willing to conceive education as the process of forming fundamental dispositions, intellectual and emotional, towards nature and fellow men, philosophy may . . . be defined as the general theory of education. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*.

'The end of education is not "happiness" but rather to develop greater capacity for being aware; to deepen human understanding—perhaps inevitably through conflict, struggle and suffering . . . to make right action natural.' W. R. Niblett, *Education and the Modern Mind*.

2. *Facets of education.* The process of education is one whole with one inclusive aim—the good life. It has many facets: academic, aesthetic, moral, physical, practical, social and spiritual education; vocational education and education for home-life, citizenship and leisure. For practical reasons we must concentrate on different aspects at different times and construct time-tables in the face of keen competition for time among subject specialists. In this inevitable hurly-burly we run the risk of losing sight of the wholeness of education. In Britain we tend to think of it in terms of different kinds with different values: academic education superior to practical, and suitable only for pupils selected by examination at the age of 10 or 11; social education in conflict with academic. The following quotations may help to correct such errors which reflect traditional and unbalanced views that have their roots in history:

Many a work of "learning" is a far less imposing product of human activity than the handiwork of a good craftsman in the utilities of life.' Sir Carlton Allen, *Democracy and the Individual*.

'It is a comedy to pretend that to live in a lovely countryside, to handle only comely things, and to know that only comely things will issue from your hands is of no importance when set beside the amount of cash in your purse.' J. G. Bennett, *A Land*.

'Interpretation in terms of the life of the community itself is a good principle to follow. Art work makes a difference in how children dress, what their homes look like, what the children may contribute to the improvement of parks.' P. R. Mort, *Principles of School Administration*.

Health is a means to the good life; and the main objective of health education, as of all kinds, is 'a serene people moving from strength to strength in body, mind and spirit.' *Health Education*, Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 31—

'What matters supremely is not the precise amount of factual knowledge young people have acquired at a given age, but whether they are leaving school with alert brains and unblunted curiosity, responsive to excellence of every kind and possessed of such an abiding interest in the things of the mind as will keep them learning and wanting to learn all life long.' *Secondary Education*, Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.

The cardinal sin (of the existing educational system) has been its

tendency to inculcate the idea of ambition as a virtue instead of the perversion which it is. In the light of such an idea the impressionable adolescent regards acquired knowledge, not as so many useful tools which he must learn to use to perfect his life and work, but as weapons with which to arm himself against his fellows in order to secure for himself a good share of the spoils in "the battle of life". L. T. C. Rolt, *High Horse Riderless*.

'Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave.' John Ruskin.

'The teacher of physical education must always bear in mind that he is not dealing with *bodies*, bodies to be moved around, to be lined up, or rushed around a track. He too is training souls, and collaborates with all the other teachers in the moral preparation and advancement of mankind.' He must be able 'to understand therefore the moral value of order, of precision, of gracefulness, of agility, by which man externally realises his personality.'

'Education then is either one or not effective. The assumption that there are many kinds of education leads to very disastrous results. Education is one; and as a whole it appears unchanged in each one of its parts that we ordinarily distinguish in it, according as we approach the human spirit now from one side and now from the other.' Giovanni Gentile, *The Reform of Education*.

'Work should be transfused with intellectual and moral vision and thereby turned into a joy, triumphing over its weariness and its pain. . . . There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical: that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision. In simpler language education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well and something he can do well.' A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*.

'Modern man seems to believe that reading and writing are arts to be learned, that to become an architect, an engineer, or a skilled worker warrants considerable study, but that *living* is something so simple that no particular effort is required to learn how to do it. Just because everyone "lives" in some fashion, life is considered a matter in which everyone qualifies as an expert.' E. Fromm, *Man for Himself*.

3. *Some down-to-earth ideas about education.* Business and education are interdependent. On the one hand, business (using the term in its widest sense) depends on education for a constant supply of skilled and devoted

workers, scientists and technologists. These educated workers are needed to maintain the commercial and economic activities of the nation, and to provide two shields without which these activities could not continue: a protective shield of defence services and a sustaining shield of social services. On the other hand, education depends on business:

'We may call business, without any stretch of fantasy, the greatest social service in the country, if only because it pays for, carries on its back, and makes possible, all the others.' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

From whatever mundane angle we look at education today—politics, economics, commerce, industry, defence, social welfare, food, population fuel and power—we see the truth of the dictum:

'Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.' H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History*.

4. *Education and culture.* 'It (education) is a continuation of the process of growing into a fully human being which took place physically in the nine months before we were born. But now it is the culture of our society which is the womb, and the spirit not the body which is gestated. The product of this sort of education and indoctrination is an individual, in his degree personally responsible too for adding to its content and changing its direction as called for by the times in which he lives.' W. R. Niblett, *op. cit.*

'There is another kind of culture than that derived from "the best that has been known and thought in the world". . . . It is the culture which springs from the common life of the people, the culture that means cultivation of the ordinary soil of the human spirit, which sanctifies the work that men do with their hands and makes significant and beautiful the labour wherewith they earn their bread. . . . What is wrong with our culture is its divorce from the crafts of common life.' J. Dover Wilson, Introduction to Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*.

5. *Education: general or specialized?* 'Any good education must be narrow. There is, of course, a pernicious, anaemic narrowness. But there is a healthy one too. Education prospers by economy, by exclusion. . . . Nothing—not all the knowledge in the world—educates like the vision of greatness, and nothing can take its place.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Some Tasks for Education*.

The following quotations are from letters to *The Times*, 3 January 1959:

'If we can really find a way of teaching and examining the intelligent use of knowledge rather than its retention in the memory, can we not secure for our sixth-formers the advantages both of the European tradition of

general education and of our own unique tradition of specialization?' A. D. C. Peterson.

'If one feature stands out above others in our (training-college) students' approach to academic work, it is their habitual reliance on "swotting", on memorizing facts and lecture notes, rather than on thinking for themselves or relating their book material to their experience and insight.' K. G. Collier.

6. *Parents and education.* 'The assumption that the parent as well as the teacher is concerned with the best interests of the children makes a splendid beginning for a conference which (otherwise) might easily become a controversy.' P. R. Mort, *op. cit.*

'Parents should teach their children themselves according to the late Professor Collingwood; and teachers should merely be kept as pets, to be called in when both grown-ups and children need instruction in any particular specialist branch of knowledge.' Anne Treneer, *Cornish Years*.

'We have reason to suppose that if we could bring up children from birth in a home climate where they would not ever feel greed or fear, they would be a new psychological seed, a new social departure for mankind.' Gerald Heard, *Is God Evident?*

'The centre of personal activity and purposiveness, the place where spiritual values are felt, is the home. . . . Relationships become truly personal and there is the beginning of true society. Here we find something of the energy and contentment of the creator who has found his (or her) medium.' C. Reaveley and J. Winnington, *Democracy and Industry*.

7. *Teaching: a vocation and a profession.* 'The word "profession" connotes for most people a foundation of *science* and a motive of *service*.' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

'We need teachers whose knowledge of their special subjects is set against a wider understanding of the nature of humanity and human needs, and who know that religion can be discussed on the same intellectual level as physics and trigonometry.' Michael Roberts, *The Recovery of the West*.

'Teachers, by and large, probably more than the general run of humanity find their life in their work.' P. R. Mort, *op. cit.*

'Good humour . . . is essential for fruitful school relationships. Good humour is the product of unfretted nerves. Friction arises when the high-spirited young encounter the tired mature. It is not only humane, but politic, so to provide for the lives of teachers that they come freshly to their work. Freshness is all. Children have no mercy on the weary.' Anne Treneer, *A Stranger in the Midlands*.

'Good nature is ground down by constant friction. Hatred leaps out like sparks from flint and iron.' Mary Webb, *The House in Dormer Forest*.

'As long as the freshness of our vocation lasts, as long as we can remain free from mechanical routine and from the impositions of fixed habits; as long as we are able to consider every new pupil with renewed interest, discover in him a different soul, unlike that of any other that we have previously come in contact with, and differing within itself from day to day; as long as it is still possible for us to enter the classroom thrilled and throbbing in the anticipation of new truths to reveal, of novel experiments to perform, of unexpected difficulties to overcome, in the full consciousness of the rapid motion of a life ever renewed in us and around us by the incoming generations, that flow to us and ebb away unceasingly towards life and death; so long shall we really live and love the teacher's life.' Giovanni Gentile, *op. cit.*

'The man who is not capable of feeling in the school the sanctity of the place and of his work is not fit to be an educator.' Giovanni Gentile, *op. cit.*

'There is one field in which every human being can create the first-rate—the field of character. The great virtues are not limited to genius: they are within the range and reach of all. That is one of the great discoveries and messages of Christianity.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*.

'Whatever a man does . . . we like his activity to have the distinction of something we call style. (In the words of Whitehead) "style is the fashioning of power, the restraint of power. . . . Style is the ultimate morality of mind. Style is always the product of specialist study, the contribution of specialism to culture".' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

8. *Some essentials of education.* 'The only avenue towards wisdom is by freedom in the presence of knowledge. But the only avenue towards knowledge is by discipline in the acquirement of ordered fact. Freedom and discipline are the two essentials of education.' A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*.

'If we are going to show a real respect for each individual as a child of God, we must see that from infancy to full maturity every child is set in such a social context as will best develop all the powers that God has given him. To provide such an opportunity not for a favoured few but for all children, is an urgent national duty. To fail here on the ground of the large expenditure required would be a national sin.' William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order*.

'The essence of education is that it be religious. . . . A religious education

is an education which inculcates duty and reverence. Duty arises from our potential control over the course of events. Where attainable knowledge could have changed the issue, ignorance has the guilt of vice. And the foundation of reverence is this perception, that the present holds within itself the complete sum of existence, backwards and forwards, that whole amplitude of time, which is eternity" A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*.

9. *Education and national policy.* 'Half-education just wakens the mind sufficiently to make a man feel alone in a field. Technical training is no good without a humane education, one that is not concerned with making a living, but making you live. Only a humane education can civilize the tractor, and civilize the factory, which goes with it.' Adrian Bell, *The Budding Morrow*.

'Educated people are the "capital" of a developed society. . . . The supply of highly educated people is a decisive factor in international power, education has become the foremost area of competition between powers—for leadership and perhaps even for survival. . . . *The conclusion from this is as simple as it is new: educational development becomes a priority of national policy.*' P. F. Drucker, *The Landmarks of Tomorrow*.

'Human beings cannot be the mere means to produce a perfect society in the future; they are ends, not means.' M. C. D'Arcy, *The Sense of History, Secular and Sacred*.

'Education can be regarded in two ways—either as a duty that the state owes to its citizens, and therefore as part of the "welfare state"; or as a means of increasing the economic efficiency of the whole community, and therefore as a form of productive capital investment, 15 to 18, A report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England).

10. *Education in other countries.* In whatever country we live, people in all other countries are today our neighbours. In studying geography, we learn something about their lives; for equally valid reasons we ought to learn something about their education, to study comparative education.

For descriptions of education in Denmark, France, Great Britain, the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and India, and for a selected bibliography on comparative education, see *Other Schools and Ours*, E. J. King (Methuen, 1958).

3

DEMOCRACY

LONELINESS worries many people in the world today. We feel it least acutely when we are living in intimate family groups. The inhabitants of a small village or of small terrace houses in a town street can be relatively immune to loneliness; it is more difficult to achieve this immunity in detached houses in a dormitory suburb. People, cut off from friends and relatives, can be very lonely even in a crowd. We are more than gregarious animals that can be satisfied by the mere physical presence of our fellows; as persons we need to be in two-way personal relationships with them. A group of people in which everyone as a general rule feels that he is recognized as a person is called a community. No one in a true community is regularly treated as if he were a thing or an animal that can be owned, used or ignored; everyone shares a common life.

This basic condition of community life is the theory on which democracy (Greek *demos*, people) is founded. In a democracy everyone is recognized as being one of the people, a person worthy of the same kind of dignified status that is earned by those exceptional, fully human, people who are obviously rational, aesthetically sensitive, morally good and responsible enough to use wisely a large measure of freedom.

Democratic Equality and Freedoms

It follows that in a democracy all people are treated in many important matters as if they were equal: for example, each man and woman has one vote; decisions are made by accepting the

views of majorities; everyone is entitled to free primary and secondary education; everyone has equal freedom under the law, and to make this freedom a reality, poor persons who need it are granted legal aid. The one-man-one-vote arrangement is more important than is sometimes realized: it is so simple that everyone can understand it; without perhaps being fully aware of its significance, a man knows that his vote is a symbol of his personal status, a sign that he counts for one equally with everyone else. Some exceptionally abnormal individuals, like criminals and the insane, have to be excluded from equality treatment but in treating them the aim in a democracy is to remedy, if possible, the defects in their personalities so that they may be restored to their full human status.

Democracy has become associated in many minds with a superficial version of the doctrine that all men are equal. In this form the doctrine is alluring to many people all over the world. As a consequence, the word 'democracy' has acquired such attractive emotional overtones that no statesman, not even those responsible for authoritarian regimes, can afford to discard it. The word has become a symbol for widely differing concepts, and it is important to get a clear understanding of how we use it. The recognition that all persons are equal because they are persons is an act of faith. Their inequalities are generally much more obvious than their equality; their varying defects more striking than their quality. There are several ways of helping to keep in focus the fundamental equality of persons as contrasted with their more superficial inequalities. One way is to reflect on how far persons transcend animals: like the teacher of backward children whose friend was sympathizing with her—'Oh, no,' she exclaimed, 'if I feel discouraged, I think of my dog, and how clever he is. And then I realize how wonderful these children are.' Another way is to reflect on the unselfish actions of ordinary people in their spontaneous efforts to save fellow human beings from mortal danger; in such situa-

tions I.Q.s, wealth, class, and other common methods of estimating quality are ludicrously irrelevant. A third way of keeping the equality of people in focus, the most fundamental of all, is to look at them in the light of a religious faith. People are animals with body-minds but we believe they are more. In our better moments, in our private and in our social lives, we act on this belief. In the language of religion, persons are equal, despite all their mundane inequalities and defects and their weak and sinful ways, because at the core of their beings they are souls of infinite potentiality and worth. The theologian expresses it by saying that they are children of God—equal in His sight because He loves them. ‘The glory of democracy,’ as Jeffreys has said, ‘is that it tries to treat men as if they were what God wants them to be.’¹ Democrats have faith that the treatment of men as if they were mature persons is the best, in fact the only way of helping them to live at that level.

Democracy is usually thought of as a system of government with the consent of the governed, with freedom for everyone to express any political opinion so long as it is not treasonable, and with power reserved to the people to overthrow a government they dislike, not by revolution but in the peace and quiet of the voting booth. Democracy is founded on political freedoms. But it also rests on freedoms of other kinds, for example, those that spring from social justice and economic security. The political, social and economic values of democracy are of vital importance but they are not all. Unless our valuation of democracy rests on still deeper foundations we shall often be driven either to lose our faith in man’s essential equality or to adopt a doctrinaire pretence that human inequalities and defects on the mundane plane do not exist. We may even be tempted to lose our faith in democracy itself, especially as we read of nations achieving wonderful scientific and economic progress under authoritarian, dictatorial, totalitarian systems

¹ M. V. C. Jeffreys, *Beyond Neutrality* (Pitman, 1955).

of government. Material and economic welfare, on a short-term view at least, is not a monopoly of democracy. People who have lived in poverty under tyranny are willing to exchange one form of tyranny for another if thereby they can escape from the poverty.

Imperfections of Democracy

Our faith in democracy may also be shaken because the machinery of democratic government is imperfect, slow and often clumsy. To take one example: government by majority. A majority is not always right. 'It is never right,' says Dr. Stockman in Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*. 'Never, I say. . . . The majority has might, unhappily, but right it has not. . . . The minority is always right.' But as Sir Carleton Allen comments,

Democracy claims, first, that the majority, right or wrong, is entitled to have its way; and second, that on the whole, though with many exceptions, majority opinion does reach a sensible and workable solution of most of the practical problems of social life—that the common sense of the Common Man can be trusted, in most situations, to remain sensible and to find expedients which will work better than the devices and desires of pure intelligence or Olympian wisdom.¹

Democracy works—despite the imperfections of its machinery and of the people. Obviously, it cannot work perfectly; democracy in practice must be very different from the democratic ideal, and it should not be assumed that any particular form of democracy today is the last word in democratic wisdom in all circumstances. Some of the disrepute into which democracy falls is due to remediable imperfections of its machinery, and to imperfections of people that could be alleviated by better education; but much of the disrepute is due to foolish, perfectionist expectations. The important fact is that

¹ Sir Carleton Allen, *Democracy and the Individual* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1943).

democracy contains within itself the possibility of progress. Any progress it makes is subject to setbacks caused by human error, and it is bound to be slow because decisions, whether to advance new policy or to correct past mistakes, have to be made by democratic processes. As power and responsibility are distributed widely, decisions can be made only after much consultation and discussion, but when they are made they are more likely to be wise and workable than if they had been made by a dictator on the basis of conceit and intuition. Slowness is the price paid by the people in a democracy for the human right of not being left out of account, of having a voice, directly or indirectly according to circumstances, in all important matters that concern them, of not being completely at the mercy of mad fanatics or of power-loving bureaucrats.

A comprehensive view of democracy—a visionary view of its fundamental rightness combined with a realistic view of its actual failings—will help to make us proof against its debunkers; with their new game of ‘chipping at it with an elegant snigger’ they are more insidiously dangerous than its denouncers.

We must face the fact that in a democracy a sizeable number of the people seem to be interested only in the material benefits they can get from it, in its economic values. They do not trouble to vote and they take little interest in the proceedings of government—in Parliament, local councils, trade unions or professional organizations; they seem to take little interest in their democratic freedoms. It might be argued that this indifference is an indication of their satisfaction with democratic government as it exists. So long as life goes on calmly, they are content—hardly ever reflecting on how much their material and spiritual enjoyment of life depends on their heritage of freedom and on men and women who have a high scale of values. Debates on the planning of their town leave them cold; they are not worried by crime statistics; the work of com-

mittees, the skill and knowledge of the officials who serve them, they take for granted. They act as if they were unaware of the benefits of living in a democracy. But let something go wrong—an ugly factory is to be built on the other side of the road, their house is burgled, owing to a clerical error their electricity supply is cut off, they receive a letter from the housing authority informing them that their house is 'unfit for human habitation', their children are refused admission to the school they choose—they are at once 'on their dignity' and they expect at least to be listened to courteously. Living in a democracy, they know that although they cannot always have their way they can have their say; and deep down they are thankful. Beneath their customary cloak of indifference, they feel and know, without always being aware of it, that it is good to live in a democracy and to be treated as persons—'not to be messed about' as the saying is.

Democratic Values

It is one of the functions of education to give young people a lively appreciation of democratic values, to teach them that, if a democracy is to work well, it needs not merely indifferent but grateful recipients of its benefits, and not only grateful recipients but also active members participating in the democratic processes and giving devoted service to the community. It is not enough that young people should passively absorb the democratic values of our culture; education should help them to become actively aware of them. Schools can do this by giving pupils experience of living in a democratic community, reinforcing this experience by inspiring instruction in subjects of the curriculum which is something very far removed from pious preaching.

This kind of education begins very early in a rudimentary way. It is remarkable how, for example, even in bad homes, mothers generally treat babies as persons; there is no surer way

of offending a mother than by referring to her baby as 'it'. The experiences in modern nursery and infants' schools continue the process. There is today an unlikely old-fashioned flavour about the following story, but it illustrates well the human yearning for personal recognition: 'How do you like it?' a little boy was asked after his first day at school. 'Well', he replied, 'I can't read and I can't write and they won't let me talk, so what's the use?'

Indifference, selfishness and the activities of clever debunkers are not the only dangers to democracy. In all countries there are some people who are attracted by authoritarianism. On the one hand, there are the arrogant power-seekers who see in the common man useful tools for their purposes. On the other hand, there are the timid freedom-avoiders who are willing to allow themselves to be regimented if they can only be left alone, safely as they think, without any burden of responsibility. They are deluding themselves, for in the words of Burke, 'The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.' Such a situation cannot be stable for ever. Sooner or later, people who have lost their freedom, their real status as persons, rebel; disillusionment is followed by revolution, and after much suffering society makes a new start. In totalitarian countries where many kinds of freedom have been lost, the situation is maintained today by mass propaganda with the threat of overwhelming military force in the background. A democrat is tempted to think that such a situation is hopeless. But ideas are very powerful, and it is not wholly unreasonable to have faith that, when fear of poverty has been abolished, wider ideas of freedom in the minds of persons will in the end prevail—in ways that no one can today foresee.

In countries where the people already have some personal status and a measure of political and economic freedom, the working of democracy can be gradually improved by legislation, though not without mistakes and unforeseen reper-

cussions which may unnecessarily curtail some forms of individual freedom for a time. In a democracy the struggle towards the democratic ideal is never-ending, but it is carried on by words in discussions instead of by weapons in battles. Slow evolution, the democratic method of achieving change peacefully with a large measure of consent, is obviously preferable to quick, violent revolution which, however successful it may be in achieving a desired change, always leaves many problems needing time and patience for their solution. But it must be admitted that, when dealing with immature persons such as children and undeveloped nations, the necessary initial conditions for democratic development sometimes have to be created by undemocratic methods, though they need not involve violence.

Facets of Democracy

Real democracy has several facets: freedom to participate in government without fear—the *political* facet; freedom from want—the *economic* facet; freedom from impersonal and inhuman relationships, freedom to enter into personal relationships, to associate and co-operate with people without fear—the *social* facet; freedom to be creative persons inspired by a scale of values that does not stop short at physical well-being but includes also those higher values which are the source of spiritual well-being and a rich spiritual life—the *personal* and *spiritual* facets.

Although the word 'democracy' is generally used in reference to a national system of government it is now a symbol for a much larger concept, for a way of life in which people have much freedom of many kinds. And the basic theory on which democracy is founded, respect for the dignity of persons, can be applied to groups other than nations. When put into action it converts a group of any size into a true community which has some of the characteristics of a real democracy. The clearest

examples are communities formed by two persons in close friendship, and by groups of persons in happy families.

The Growth of Democracies

The larger the group, the more necessary it is to establish machinery to make it work as a community, and the more difficult it is to maintain personal relationships. It is often said that large groups must therefore be split up into smaller ones. There is some truth in this, but it is more fruitful to think not so much of splitting up as of building up, and, more fruitful still, of growing up. A large community can be built up of small ones, but it can only grow up into maturity as the small communities grow together; any large community must be a community of communities. The well-being of a nation rests ultimately on the healthiness of family life; national government needs a basis of healthy local government. The world community towards which we are groping can only grow up from national communities; a national community from neighbourhood communities; a neighbourhood community from smaller ones of which families, schools, churches and factories are examples.

The United Nations is an example of a community that has not yet grown into maturity; it is still suffering from growing pains and its machinery is creaking. This is not surprising. We have only to reflect on the stresses and strains of life in the communities we know, even in the small ones, and then think of the very varied concepts of democracy among the nations of the world today. Nevertheless, it is necessary for everyone, and particularly for educationists, to keep their faith in the grandest of man's social conceptions—a world democracy—and to watch for signs that it is growing up. In this, as in many other aspects of educational faith, wisdom consists in not expecting too much too soon. Growth is nearly always a slow process, and the more complex the organism—biological or

social!—the slower the growth. Slow growth is also a characteristic of organisms that are to have a long life; mushroom growth should not be looked for in the growth either of persons or communities.

The Democratic Way of Life in Schools

But the function of educationists is to foster growth. The growing points with which they are intimately concerned are the persons and small communities they meet in their daily work. It is clearly important to make the way of life in school as democratic as possible, and to give pupils experience of living in communities of different sizes. We have suggested that the essential mark of a community, as of democracy, is the respectful treatment of people as persons. If this be accepted, the common term 'democratic community' is tautological; the plain word 'community' (Latin *com + munis*, bound, or *com + unus*, one) is enough, although the occasional use of the adjective 'democratic' is a useful reminder that democracy and community march together.

If a school is to grow into a community, and not remain an aggregation of classes, houses and ancillary services in competition, the first essential is that the staff—teaching and non-teaching staff together—should itself be a community. If a staff is to grow into a community all its members should be democratically-minded. Teachers often have to exercise authority in the interests of their pupils and of the various groups to which their pupils belong. Like other persons in authority, they may easily overdo it, grow fond of power, exercise authority to gratify themselves without being aware of their motive, and become authoritarians. People in authority are tempted to become authoritarians rather than remain as men or women of authority. In the words of Lord Acton's famous dictum, 'Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.'

Education, as we saw in Chapter 2, is a process of nurturing,

life-long and life-wide. It consists not only of the conscious efforts made by teachers in schools but also of many influences exerted outside school, and, very important, of the interaction of individuals in groups. This interaction is operating continuously; as sunshine and frost influence the growth of plants, so the social climate in which we live, play and work silently influences our growth and development. In proportion as the climate is sunny and democratic, it is life-giving; it releases creative energies, it enables persons to grow, it promotes friendship and a community spirit, it makes possible the emergence of truth, beauty and goodness. In proportion as the climate is frosty and authoritarian, it retards growth.

Authoritarianism

No one, especially in a democracy, likes to be accused of authoritarianism. But it is possible to be an authoritarian without realizing it, for it is easy to rationalize our motives, to find good reasons for anything we want to do. There is one useful danger-signal: extremely vehement rejection of any suggestion that one could possibly be an authoritarian. Such a strong emotion often springs from a deep, unconscious source. Our attitude to authority was formed when we were very young, and we are fortunate if we have no unconscious desire to get our own back when we find ourselves in positions of authority. It is wise, therefore, to recognize that we may have authoritarian tendencies, and to be on our guard. When thinking of the relationships of teachers with pupils and with laymen we should always beware of views that are tinged with strong resentment—our own views as well as those of other people. Here, for example, are some views that are often expressed with abnormal vehemence: activity methods are a waste of time; corporal punishment is good for children; governors are not competent to have the oversight of schools; benevolent despotism, not pupil participation, is the right principle of

school government. All such matters, in which there may be a fine line between a parade of authoritarianism and a legitimate exercise of authority, need calm discussions in the light of general democratic principles and also of the circumstances in particular situations.

The difference between authoritarians and persons of authority corresponds to the difference between class and rank. A high-ranking democrat maintains his authority, but he does not treat people as if he were in a class apart; an authoritarian does. Rank, necessary for the legitimate exercise of authority, need not divide people though it often does, either because the higher ranks are tactless, or the lower ranks have not learned to respect genuine authority. Class, in origin a by-product of authoritarianism, is always divisive, and once established as part of a national culture it is difficult to eradicate for it tends to be perpetuated by snobbery and in modern times by that curious and increasingly common brand: 'inverted snobbery'.

Authoritarians, lovers of power for its own sake, are dangerous enemies of the democratic way of life in all its possible fields. They do not take kindly to the necessary give-and-take of personal friendship; in families or schools they make it difficult to develop a community spirit; in offices they become bureaucrats; in positions of authority they tend to become tyrants. Wherever they operate, their dictatorial attitude tends to drive people into one of two camps: rebels who are likely in their turn to become authoritarians; or conformists who are likely to become apathetic avoiders of freedom and responsibility. The cure of authoritarian tendencies is obviously of first-rate importance, and for no one more important than for professional educationists. No quick easy cure is possible. If we have such tendencies, they were probably wrought into our nature in early childhood; we grew into them and the only cure is to grow out of them. Like physical growth it is a slow process, especially as experience of teaching children in large

classes tends to root them still more deeply. We need experience of a radically different kind: experience of group participation.

SUMMARY

The foundation of democracy is respect for people—for all the people, because every human being is a person. The word 'democracy' has therefore come to be a symbol for more than a form of government. Democracy is a way of life with freedom as its keynote, and it has several facets: political, economic, social, personal and spiritual.

The underlying theory of democracy is that all people ought to be treated as if they were really human which is what they are fundamentally, or in theological language 'what God wants them to be'. In the sight of God, in the view of man revealed by love, in the perspective of what we believe is man's destiny, all men are equal.

It follows that in a democracy the relationships between human beings who are in communication tend to be personal rather than impersonal, human and not inhuman, relationships of friendliness and love rather than of indifference, aggressiveness or hate, of confidence rather than of fear.

A group of people which is permeated by personal relationships is called a community. Small groups, such as families and pairs of close friends, often come nearer to this ideal than large ones. Large communities—for example, large secondary schools, national democracies and ultimately a world democracy—can, however, grow as small communities inside them grow together.

The aim of democracy is to give people, in increasing measure, freedoms that they can enjoy and use wisely. In practice a democracy falls short of the democratic ideal because of the imperfections of human beings and of the machinery which is necessary to make it work at all.

Democracies will not work unless leadership is accepted and

authority is respected. The exercise of authority puts a strain on personal relationships and may disrupt them if the person in authority is an authoritarian; that is to say, if he loves power more than people.

The greatest handicap to the development of communities, of democracies, springs from authoritarian tendencies which are common among human beings. The prevention and cure of authoritarianism are important educational problems; that is one reason why experiences of group participation are of such very great importance.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Democracy and the Individual, Sir Carleton Allen (Oxford Univ. Press, 1943); *Adult Education for Democracy*, Harold C. Shearman (Workers' Educ. Assoc., 1944); *Democracy and Industry*, C. Reaveley and J. Winnington (Chatto and Windus, 1947); *Education for a New Society*, E. Green (Routledge, 1947); *The Free Society*, J. Middleton Murry (Dakers, 1948); *The Family and Democratic Society*, J. K. Folsom (Kegan Paul, 1948); *Citizens Growing up at Home, in School and After*, Ministry of Education (H.M.S.O., 1949).

Discussion topics. 1. *Fundamental questions about democracy.* Many of these questions are raised in a century-old book which has now become a classic:

Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville, edited with an introduction by H. S. Commager (The World's Classics, Oxford, 1946).

The book was first published in France in two parts, and translated by Henry Reeve, in 1835 and 1840. In it de Tocqueville discussed democracy 'with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions', but as he said, 'The question . . . is interesting not only to the United States, but to the whole world; it concerns not a nation but all mankind.'

'He chose,' says Commager, 'a great and noble theme and handled it with dignity. That theme was the adjustment of the civilizations of Western Christendom to democracy.'

Today many of de Tocqueville's questions are still relevant. Here are some of them as summarized by Commager:

Can men govern themselves?

Is it possible to reconcile liberty and order, the individual and the state?

Does democracy but substitute the tyranny of the majority for the tyranny of the few?

Can any government tolerate free speech and a free press, or will liberty inevitably degenerate into license?

Can men of different races, tongues and faiths live amicably side by side?

Will the melting pot, with its fusing of peoples, produce an inferior race?

Will universal education be accompanied by a vulgarization of culture?

Can art, literature and philosophy flourish in a society which substitutes the verdict of the majority for the judgment of training and tradition?

Is democracy synonymous with mediocrity, and is the well-being of the many worth the sacrifice of beauty and grace?

Will democracy so depreciate the military virtues as to expose itself to enervation from within and destruction from without?

The above questions are applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to life in smaller groups such as families, school forms, schools and youth clubs. Some of them are specially applicable to comprehensive schools.

2. *Handicaps to the growth of democracies.* De Tocqueville's questions are a challenge. Although some of them appear today to make false assumptions, most of them are still pertinent and, in so far as favourable answers cannot be given, people are falling short of the democratic ideal; they are living below the level of truly human maturity. The practical problem is to raise the level by improved education, both the informal education given by life in society and the organized education given by life in schools. There will always be severe limitations to the development of democracy in school because children and young people have obviously far to grow and much to learn; much heartening progress has nevertheless been made. It is also important for educationists to get a realistic appreciation of the vast gulf there is between the ideal levels and the actual levels reached by most adults in all social classes. A graphic picture full of detail, an excellent supplement to the generalities of educational theory, is given in:

The Uses of Literacy, Richard Hoggart (Chatto and Windus, 1957).

One difficulty springs from 'the extraordinarily low level of the organs of mass communication': popular newspapers, magazines, films and radio programmes. Hoggart pleads not that they should be highbrow but that they should be good of their kind: less trivial, more truly concrete and personal. As he says:

'The ability to read the decent weeklies is not a *sine qua non* of the good life. It seems unlikely . . . that a majority in any class will (ever) have

strongly intellectual pursuits. There are other ways of being in the truth. The strongest objection to the more trivial popular entertainments is . . . that they make it harder for people without an intellectual bent to become wise in their own way.'

'Democracy will triumph over the forces of nihilism only if it can imbue people with a faith that is the strongest the human mind is capable of, the faith in life and truth, and in freedom as the active and spontaneous realization of the individual self.' E. Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom*.

3. *Faith in people and democracy.* Despite all individual failings and all social defects we are justified in retaining faith in people and in democracy. There is much to be proud of in the British character, in the achievements of British democracy, and in the kindly social atmosphere of British schools. Despite all the exceptions, the children are good to teach and their parents good to know.

'In the working men and women of Great Britain we have the most magnificent material the world has ever known—humorous and patient, stiff-necked to govern but in personal relations kindly and generous, loyal, enduring, honest and in peril undismayed. If we cannot lead them the fault is our own.' L. F. Urwick, *Leadership in the 20th Century*.

Books consisting of generalizations about national character have obvious limitations, but they are useful if only because they make us more observant of ourselves and those around us. For example:

The English People, George Orwell (Collins, 1947).

The following, in Orwell's opinion, are the salient characteristics of the English people: artistic insensibility, gentleness, respect for legality, suspicion of foreigners, sentimentality about animals, hypocrisy, exaggerated class distinctions, and an obsession with sport.

4. *The democratic spirit in education.* All that is said in the text of this chapter and in the quotations should be considered by educationists in relation to their work. 'Here are some questions we should all ask ourselves: members of education committees and administrators should ask them about the education service, head teachers about their schools, teachers about their classes:

'Does the social climate of the service, the school, the class foster the development of social confidence or timidity, of social co-operation or acquisitiveness, of activity or passivity, of creativeness or conformity?

'Does it foster respect for worthy forms of authority, or does it foster apathy and rebelliousness?' A. G. Hughes, *Education and the Democratic Ideal*.

5. *Facets of democracy.* 'We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' Abraham Lincoln, Address at Gettysburg, 19 November 1863.

'Taking from the old radical Bentham that motto of a good citizen, "to censure freely and to obey punctually." That is democracy: and democracy is a most difficult form of government, being at once a political arrangement and a social ideal; regarded from one side, a fact; from another, still an aspiration.' G. M. Young, *Stanley Baldwin*.

'If we believe in democracy we shall seek to promote freedom in and through the family and to help parents build young personalities which will not sabotage democracy in the larger world through their frustrations and pent-up hostilities.' J. K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society*.

'Democracy is a way of living . . . a system whereby the members of a community live together, so that each member can give the maximum service to the community, and the community can give the maximum service to each individual member. . . . Democracy is an adventure. . . . It can never be cut and dried. It is adventurous, experimental and creative.' W. M. Ryburn, *Creative Education*.

'Democracy is not an almshouse, even for the common man.' Charles Morgan, *The River Line*.

'It is one of the paradoxes of our time that we have so long tolerated an almost entirely authoritarian method of conducting industry within a society which is dedicated to the principles of democracy.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

6. *Conditions of democracy.* 'The success of democracy depends very much on the ability of the citizen to distinguish good and bad arguments and not to be misled by confusion. Critical philosophy sets up an ideal of good thinking and trains one in removing confusions. This is perhaps why Whitehead says that "there can be no successful democratic society till general education conveys a philosophic outlook."' A. C. Ewing, *The Fundamental Questions of Philosophy*.

'If this (extension of state authority) takes place by free consent and because the citizens . . . consciously realize what they are doing, then the results will be nothing but good. If on the other hand it takes place because people find it more comfortable to evade difficult decisions or because of lack of consciousness, then the individual is exposed to the certain danger of ceasing to exist as a responsible human being. If that happens,

the State will be in no way different from a prison or a termite's nest.' C. D. Jung, *Essays on Contemporary Events*.

'The best anthropological evidence, as Franz Boas has pointed out, is that the judgment of the masses is sounder than the judgment of the classes on broad questions of policy where sentiments and values are concerned. This doctrine must not be perverted into a claim for the common man's expertness on technical or artistic matters. Nor does contemporary thought refer to the individual citizen's judgment.' C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*.

'We are living in an age of transition from laissez-faire to a planned society. The planned society . . . will be ruled either by a minority in terms of a dictatorship or by a new form of government which, in spite of its increased power, will still be democratically controlled.' Karl Mannheim, *Diagnosis of our Time*.

'In the democracies there is no . . . final concentration of authority at the top; theoretically the locus of authority moves from place to place according to the demands of the situation. . . . Historically speaking, the great democracies represent a quest for wisdom in control rather than authority, an attempt to set the locus of decision in any difficulty approximately where the situation demands that it be placed.' Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.

'Where the dignity of man is fully taken into account, power is shared, respect is shared, knowledge is shared.' H. D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behaviour*.

'Democracy . . . is not something that can be given or bestowed, imposed or commanded. It is essentially a luxury which must be earned through literacy and prosperity, through wisdom and self-restraint, through knowledge and consideration and through the fierce ideals of independence, liberty and the dignity of the individual man.' Louis Bromfield, *A New Pattern for a Tired World*.

'A democracy does not know where it is going but only feels its way.' J. T. MacCurdy, *The Structure of Morale*.

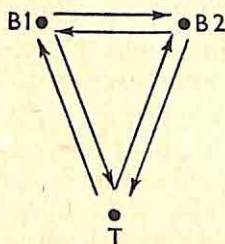
7. *Democracy in homes*. 'The stabilizing element of a democratic home is that underlying the surface interplay of the family members are certain basic attitudes and principles: a warm parent-child relationship; a willingness and patience to help children learn; an appreciation of the nature of childhood; firmness with affection; children have a voice in their own affairs.' Louis Kaplan, *Mental Health and Human Relations in Education*.

4

GROUP PARTICIPATION

THE reality of a group consists of its individual members and the relationships between them. The term 'group participation' is therefore no more than a convenient shorthand way of saying 'participation in group affairs by individual members of the group'. The term 'group discussion' and other terms in which the word 'group' is used as an adjective have similar longhand translations.

The individual members of a group are not, however, static personalities. They are continually changing as they come into changing relationships with other members. A pupil in close converse with his best friend is in some ways a very different person from the same boy fearfully waiting to be asked a question about a disliked subject by a disliked teacher. The two boys and teacher are all in changing relationships, and the fact of relationship at a given moment of time may be represented in a diagram :



In any group currents of feelings flow in both directions from individual to individual, and these feelings—of friendliness and

antipathy, confidence and fearfulness, submission and dominance—exert their influence on individual thoughts, talk and conduct, and on the nature of the group, on its atmosphere as we say. In every class there may be pupils who are relatively isolated; they seem to be in relationship with no one except occasionally with the teacher. But most pupils are in relationship of one kind or another with other pupils, and if a sociometric diagram of a whole class were drawn to represent only one kind of relationship, say friendliness, it would be extremely complicated. It would be infinitely complicated if an attempt were made to represent the cross currents of all kinds of feeling. When we look at a class we see the individual members, but just as real, though we cannot see it, is the web of relationships that binds the individuals into a group, and here and there tends to disintegrate it. In this web the strands of relationship between the leader or teacher and the individual members are particularly important.¹

Special Problems of Large Groups

Most persons desire to participate in the affairs of any small group of which they are members. As they play their part they feel that they count and that they belong; they feel that they are of value; they have the comfort of knowing that, whatever troubles or difficulties they may meet, they are not alone; they have a sense of security. A group of actively participating people is at least on the way towards growing into a community. Conversely, a democracy that contains many apathetic people who take no part in, say, its political and social activities is in an unhealthy state, and may be in danger of disintegrating. If a group is large, opportunities for individuals to participate must be planned and made attractive; if they are left to chance,

¹ For a discussion of 'Sociometry and the Concept of Self', with references to recent work, see C. M. Fleming, *Teaching: a Psychological Analysis*, Chapter IV (Methuen, 1958).

the desire to participate may evaporate. People then become lonely, bewildered, insecure, apathetic; they seek relief in various ways—for example, by over-indulgence in mass entertainment, by forming anti-social gangs. These feelings are rife in the world today—a world increasingly composed of large groups—and they produce an unhealthy state of mind. Morbid loneliness is very different from the normal desire to be alone occasionally which persons experience although they enjoy a happy social life. Solitude may be very valuable, for quiet, detached contemplation is a necessary complement to group participation. Morbid loneliness is different also from the state of mind of exceptional people who feel that they have a vocation to withdraw from the world and live in comparative seclusion: some artists and religious people, for example, have served the community indirectly in this way, and their views should be respected.

The problem of individuals in large groups can be seen on various scales. A small infants' school is a large group to a child on his first day. At that age he needs individual activity inside a small group; his need for co-operative activity is very rudimentary. A class of forty is a large group to a backward child, and before he can participate fully he needs special treatment in a small group to loosen his tongue and make him want to learn. On a larger scale the problem of participation is urgent in the large business aggregations that are squeezing out small uneconomic units in modern industrialized society. The importance of group participation in every department of modern life can hardly be over-estimated. Teaching is important for many individual and social purposes; the thorough teaching of fundamental skills at school and work is one example. But group participation teaches some essential lessons that are beyond the power of direct instruction by any teacher.

Therapeutic Functions of Group Participation

The commonest form of group participation is talking: conversing, arguing, discussing, debating. The work of Parliament (Old French *parlement*, speaking) is a good example. Sixty years ago children at home were told to speak when spoken to; children in school were ordered to come out for talking. In the monster classes of those days talking was the offence most frequently punished. Appreciation of the universal value of group participation, for adults and for children and for both together, is a comparatively modern development. The chief value of life in a group was generally supposed to be that it rubbed off the rough corners. That is a process that most people need to go through, but it is not satisfactory if carried out in the rough-and-ready way implied by the 'corner' metaphor with its suggestion that persons are things. A ruthless process of rubbing off corners is apt to leave feelings of resentment against authority, 'a chip on the shoulder' in modern jargon, a longing for power in order to get one's own back, authoritarian tendencies. The process must be personalized by carrying it out in the context of group participation. Corners are most likely to disappear without bad after-effects, not as a result of action on individuals living in groups in an impersonal, authoritarian atmosphere, but of interaction between individuals living in communities in a personal, democratic atmosphere.

The value of new ideas in education has often been most clearly demonstrated in the education of abnormal, subnormal and very young children; for example, in the education of subnormal children by Montessori, in the education of very young children through picture- and pattern-making. The value of group participation has been strikingly demonstrated in new techniques for the curative treatment of neurotic patients. Psychiatrists have found that they often achieve greater success by treating patients in groups of eight or nine than by the

personal-interview method. The reason is that a neurotic person is mentally ill, not only because of tensions in his personality but also because of tensions in his relationships with other people. In the small group patients are encouraged to start discussions on any subject they choose and to speak quite freely. The psychiatrist is a member of the group but he gradually recedes into the background. He is then able to observe what is happening, and at the right moments to intervene. Gradually his patients gain a feeling of security in their relationships with the others, a feeling that they are not isolated from them, a knowledge that they need not withdraw into apathetic isolation or on the other hand assert themselves pompously and suspiciously against authority. In these group discussions the psychiatrist is exercising authority, not in a heavy-handed authoritarian way but with a very light touch. He builds up group morale—the morale of individuals in relationships—and in so doing he strengthens the morale of each individual as a separate person.

A person with authoritarian tendencies is suffering from a form of mental illness. Fortunately it is generally mild, but it is very common. We should all do well therefore to seize and create opportunities of participating in group discussions because of their therapeutic value in helping us to discipline ourselves, to outgrow, or at least to hold in check, our authoritarian tendencies. There are many possibilities within the educational field: classroom discussions, staff-room arguments, staff conferences; and—of particular value because they enable laymen and professionals to meet, discuss and confer—governors' meetings, education sub-committee meetings, parents' meetings and joint consultative meetings of teachers, officers and members. But educationists should not always play on their home ground; discussions with people outside the official educational field can be very valuable and very salutary.

Social and Efficiency Functions of Group Participation

Light-hearted discussions are sometimes valuable as a means of social relaxation. Group discussions, however, are used primarily, not for therapy or relaxation, but in order to get things done, to increase understanding, to pool and disseminate information, to reach conclusions and decisions. For children they are also particularly valuable because they give them practice in speaking and quick thinking. The therapeutic value of group discussions is in ordinary life a by-product of their efficiency value, and it is all the greater because it is not consciously sought. The best way of converting a normal group into a community is to give it a worth-while job to do—one that calls for the participation, and if possible the absorption, of all its members. It is not wise in the ordinary traffic of life to become obsessed with ideas of therapy although, if a group is small enough to allow discussion to be free and intimate, there may be occasions when a chairman or an official in a committee discussion, a head teacher in a staff conference, or a teacher in a class-room discussion, may recede into the background and 'exercise a free-floating attention both to what is being *talked* about, and to what is *happening* in the group'. Chairmen, officials and teachers must be ready to deal tactfully with emotionally distorted remarks, avoiding if possible head-on collisions which generally do more harm than good; they sometimes have to be therapists, but the less aware they are of this function, the more intuitively they exercise it, the more likely it is that the discussion will serve its primary purpose of being efficient and fruitful.

The teacher's traditional suspicion of talking by children is not without some justification. Even allowing for its therapeutic and social values, talking can be a great waste of time, and there is some truth in the old quip that committees waste hours and keep minutes. An efficient discussion must have a definite purpose, and the members collectively must have the

necessary relevant facts. In committees much depends on the comprehensiveness, relevance, brevity and clarity of the informative reports that form the basis of their discussions; and on the chairman's tact and resolution in ruling irrelevancies out of order. Much preparatory work is also needed if classroom discussions are to be fruitful: by teachers, the thorough preparation of informative lessons; and by pupils, working sometimes as individuals and sometimes in groups, the collection of information, the writing of short papers and practical work of many kinds.

In classrooms formal group discussion is by no means the only kind of group participation. Participation arises naturally, frequently and informally as teacher and pupils work together in all aspects of classroom life. If the social climate is democratic, the teacher is in authority but he is in little danger of becoming an authoritarian, for even the lessons he gives take the form of natural conversations rather than of lectures punctuated by teacher's questions; the pupils do a great deal of work co-operatively in small informal groups amid a buzz of informal discussion; informal class discussion frequently breaks out; the occasional formal class discussion, with a pupil sometimes presiding, is the culmination of much hard work; and the pupils come to it with much to talk about, and ready to talk to some purpose.

Discussion flourishes best in small groups where members grow to know and understand one another well. It is therefore often found profitable to divide committees into sub-committees, school classes into groups, large conferences into small discussion groups. At the first meeting of a discussion group it is a good plan for each member to introduce himself, and to give a short description of his professional experience and special interests.

Fondness for extremely tidy systems in the organization of human affairs is always a danger-signal, but nevertheless the

66 system of group discussion which has had a vogue in the United States is interesting. It is called 66 because groups of 6 discuss a question for 6 minutes. It has two virtues: it reminds us that small groups are best and that much talk can waste many minutes.

The Value of Free Discussion

Discussion implies differences, and sometimes hard hitting and friction. On the physical plane many useful and beautiful results are produced by blows and friction: a metal bowl is beautified by hammer marks; music can be produced by percussion and friction. On the personal plane hard hitting and friction can be useful too, but only in so far as they stimulate growth; whether they do this or not depends on the kind of relationships in the group that will almost certainly contain a mixture of different kinds of people. Diversity of outlook can enrich the life of a community if discussion is free and if no one treats another as of no account. In such conditions differences do not remain bottled up, and they are not then an unconscious source of disaffection. The mere expression of individual views makes people feel better, and research has shown that, if conclusions have to be imposed in the form of orders or even advice, they are less likely to be resented, and more likely therefore to be accepted and acted on if they are stated after free discussion than if they are stated in a lecture, however clear and tactful it may be. Even if a discussion produces no agreed solution the airing of conflicting views helps to loosen up the fixed, wrong-headed ideas of any stubborn minority; time and the pressure of group opinion may complete their conversion. In so far as the minority are right, time and reason may convert the majority. Meanwhile a majority decision is accepted. The minority, however, have performed the useful function of pointing out its risks and perhaps of persuading the group to adopt sensible safeguards. The leader, conscious of the fact that

objectors have the human right of expressing their opinions, is also aware that they are not always mere nuisances. He is aware that they may be useful, so he encourages them to suggest risks and safeguards. The minority objectors, having made an acceptable contribution, do not feel they must be awkward in an effort to save face. Thus, truth and many virtues such as tolerance and good humour emerge from the thrust and parry of an argument and from the friction of conflicting views. 'I let the argument rip healthily between the departments,' said Sir Winston Churchill. 'This is a very good way of finding out the truth.'¹

The Control of Discussion

Freedom in discussion cannot however be unlimited. There are people who specially need to be taught this lesson: for example, irrelevancy addicts with bees in their bonnets, and voluble talkers who like to monopolize every discussion. Both types may have virtues: one is often amusing and the other is often knowledgeable. But they tend to arouse resentment, and they are really in need of group therapy. If a chairman, teacher or leader in charge of a discussion is aware that discussion has this secondary function he will find it easier to check them patiently, tactfully and with good humour, and to be forbearing when he finds himself, as he will at times, a focus of hostility. If he finds himself becoming resentful and blustering, he will wonder whether perhaps the physician himself needs healing; he never forgets that he is in a prominent and very vulnerable position. In all therapeutic work time is a better ally than argument. But time is not unlimited, and when the therapeutic needs of a few individuals are in conflict with the social and efficiency needs of the group, it is a mark of a skilful leader that he is able intuitively to deal with the situation, sometimes by finding a reasonable compromise. Using the minimum of

¹ *The Great Alliance*, p. 35.

words, he creates an atmosphere in which everyone feels free to participate, and in which those who are not at the moment vocal take an active part mentally; silent members often stimulate and influence a discussion by their attitude which they show by many subtle changes of facial expression.

A good leader—chairman or teacher—makes it clear by his attitude that he himself is a member of the group and not a superior outsider. When the group accepts him as one of themselves he is able to create a feeling of group solidarity which has an excellent disciplinary effect on all members: the selfish, the over-assertive and the timid. In such a united group all views are likely to be given a fair and dispassionate hearing. The leader takes special care to bring the timid, retiring members into the discussion, sometimes perhaps by asking them beforehand to prepare a short paper. He is careful to give a fair hearing to members with inconvenient, unconventional views for he knows how unjustly they are often treated. 'From the viewpoint of the central mass of society,' says L. J. Barnes, 'those venturers who press ahead of the received canons and conventions are just as much delinquents as the laggards who fall short of them. Orthodoxy delights to turn and rend and crush your improver, your top-of-the-range delinquent.'¹

The skilful leader takes as much care of the efficiency function of discussion as of the social, for he realizes that they are interdependent. Persons in very small groups sometimes find leaderless discussions useful especially if they are already very knowledgeable about the topic under discussion. Generally speaking, however, a rambling discussion seems to get nowhere and it leaves behind feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction. The leader therefore tries to keep discussion to the point; he keeps it moving, and from time to time he tentatively

¹ L. J. Barnes, *The Outlook for Youth Work* (King George's Jubilee Trust, 1948), p. 143.

sums up the conclusions to which the general sense of the discussion seems to point. When, in a discussion on a controversial topic, a point is reached where no further progress towards an agreed conclusion seems possible, he may ask informally for a show of hands. But a discussion is not a debate in which one side is trying to beat the other; it is less artificial, more sincere and more informal, a co-operative activity in which everyone is trying to understand a problem and find out the truth. It has been well described as 'organized conversation'. The sense of the meeting is often more useful than a formal resolution passed by a majority vote and recorded with an air of finality.

Discussion and Community

Discussion in a lively, creative community leads not to finality but to further thought. The members have a dynamic attitude, with minds open to the possibility of change of opinion as more knowledge and experience give them new insights. It seems to be a general characteristic of human beings that if they are not to deteriorate they must continually be improving or at least striving to improve. And the life of a community never stands still any more than the lives of its members.

In a classroom, discussion takes place in a variety of situations and for a variety of purposes. It may be used for extending knowledge and deepening understanding of academic and practical subjects; for the delicate task of helping pupils to distinguish between beautiful and ugly things, between excellence and flashiness; for giving pupils opportunities of participating in framing policy in matters such as school and classroom rules; for helping them to make clear distinctions in particular situations between right and wrong, a valuable way of laying the foundation for the growth of general moral concepts and of strengthening their sense of individual respons-

ibility. Classroom discussions can thus touch life at many points and help pupils, far more effectively than is possible by direct instruction, to get glimpses of the fact that education is doing more than training them to get on in the world, important though that is.

Wherever it is used, and underlying all its diverse purposes—in homes, schools, councils, parliaments—group participation by means of free discussion has a general value: it helps to create a real community. And in a community atmosphere many desirable things are possible: children in school can be given experiences of working with zest even at tasks that are not intrinsically interesting; academic and social education can flourish together, each re-inforcing the other; for people at work occupations can become vocations; wherever differences are met, they can be a source of interest more often than of irritation; tendencies to authoritarianism can be held in check; diversity of gifts, knowledge and experience can be used in framing uniform policies to promote efficiency, single formulations to promote truth, or common laws to promote virtue; individuals can learn by experience that there is something greater and in the long run more satisfying than material self-interest; people can safely be given a great deal of freedom; leadership can be appreciated and authority respected without any feeling that individual freedom is being unreasonably curtailed. Two questions arise: What kind of leadership ought to be welcomed? What is the nature of authority that is worthy of respect? These questions will be discussed in Chapter 5: 'Leadership' and Chapter 6: 'Freedom.'

SUMMARY

Participation, as free as possible, in the affairs of the groups of which people are members is a corollary of the democratic, the community, the Christian principle that people ought to be treated as persons.

There are many ways in which persons can participate in group affairs: for example, by giving service cheerfully to the community and accepting benefits appreciatively; by taking an interest in discussions of public affairs and voting at elections. In schools pupils and staff can participate in many kinds of group work and discussion.

In large groups opportunities for participation must be organized; participation cannot be left to chance.

The commonest form of group participation is discussion in conference. It has therapeutic, social and efficiency functions, all three interdependent. Wise leadership can do much to help group discussions, especially among immature persons, to function successfully in all three ways. The therapeutic and social benefits may take the form of checking authoritarian tendencies, of rubbing off rough corners without leaving bad after-effects, and teaching people to listen patiently to opinions they do not hold and to argue without quarrelling. The efficiency function may be exercised for various purposes: to decide policy, to reach wise conclusions on practical affairs, to frame rules or laws, to increase academic knowledge, to deepen understanding.

Group participation, stimulated by wise leadership and regulated by acceptable authority, can help to convert groups into communities. This is true for communities of all kinds: from family and school communities to national and world democracies.

Seven characteristics of life in a real community may be summarized as follows:

1. The keynote is respect for all people because they are persons.

2. In a community, members have a lively sense of spiritual as well as of material values. They appreciate that the community stands for material welfare—of themselves and the community—and also for something greater. Life in a real

community is inspired by a sense of high purpose that often over-rides material self-interest.

3. In a community, all members participate freely and responsibly in its life. One important form of group participation is group discussion. Used for hammering out conclusions and decisions, it increases the chances of these conclusions and decisions being willingly accepted by everyone. Failing agreement, the views of the majority prevail as a general rule at least for the time being. These views are often best summed up and expressed informally as the general sense of the discussion, but in some circumstances they must be formulated as a resolution or a law and, if some disagree, passed by a majority vote.

4. In a community, members value diversity among themselves because they recognize that the best conclusions and decisions are most likely to be reached by the interaction of varied and sometimes conflicting opinions.

5. Members of a community are dynamic rather than static in their outlook; they do not object to change on principle. They recognize that conclusions are tentative and decisions often temporary; both are subject to revision by the process of discussion in the light of more experience, new knowledge and deeper insights.

6. Members of a community value good leadership. Leaders are necessary for many reasons: to keep alive a sense of purpose, especially of high purpose; to crystallize, from time to time, the main issues of the discussion; to help members to reach conclusions that integrate their divergent views, and where this is not possible to suggest acceptable compromises; and finally to give members a clear statement of the conclusions that have been reached.

7. Members of a community respect authority and accept its necessity. It is necessary in order to ensure consistent adherence to community decisions especially by those who disagree with them and by the weaker members. In some discussions

where the purpose is to increase understanding and knowledge, the true conclusion may not emerge, and for some members the discussion cannot do more than prepare them to receive it. As majority views are here irrelevant, the conclusion must be stated on authority.

These are seven marks of community life at its best: respect for persons; a sense of high purpose over-riding material self-interest; free responsible participation by all; diversity among members; readiness for necessary change; appreciation of leadership; respect for authority.

Ordinary life in groups must often fall short, in some respects, of the ideal of real community life. In a class of children for example, many conclusions have to be stated and some unpalatable decisions have to be made by authority without discussion; the most that can be done is to help children to understand that the decisions are reasonable. If departures from the ideal are exceptional rather than general, they do not matter; they may in fact have some virtue, for one of the lessons we all need to learn is to take the rough with the smooth. The important general principle is that the prevailing winds in a classroom should blow from the right quarters, that the social atmosphere should be more democratic than authoritarian, the social climate invigorating rather than enervating—the climate of a true community. Then, when storms arise, teachers and pupils will be able, as a rule, to ride them cheerfully together.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Discussion Method. The Purpose, Nature, and Application of Group Discussion, Bureau of Current Affairs (Dobson, 1952); *Teacher, Pupil and Task, Elements of Social Psychology applied to Education*, edited by O. A. Oeser (Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1955).

Discussion topics. 1. *The value of participation.* 'Effective co-operation is the problem we face in the middle period of the twentieth century. There

is no "ism" that will help us to a solution; we must be content to return to patient, pedestrian work at the wholly neglected problem of the determinants of spontaneous participation. . . . It is not the atomic bomb that will destroy civilization. But civilized society can destroy itself—finally, no doubt, with bombs—if it fails to understand intelligently and to control the aids and deterrents to co-operation.' Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.

'The danger of the masses lies precisely in their inability to participate, in their apathy, cynical indifference and complete despair. Since they have no social status and function, society is to them nothing but a demoniac, irrational, incomprehensible threat. Since they have no basic beliefs which could serve as a basis for legitimate power, any legitimate authority appears to them as tyrannical and arbitrary.' P. F. Drucker, *The Future of Industrial Man*.

'The help for the unemployed which has proved really redemptive and recreative of character is that which has enabled them to realize themselves and fulfil their function as members of the community of whom the community has need. The gravest evil and bitterest injury of their state is not the animal grievance of hunger or discomfort, not even the mental grievance of vacuity and boredom; it is the spiritual grievance of being allowed no opportunity of contributing to the general life and welfare of the community.' F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple*.

2. *Discussion should be free.* 'If majority opinion is to possess the quality which alone can justify its authority, discussion must be free, open and candid. . . . In all the clash of opinions which go to make up democratic discussion, may we not perceive that old, irrefragable principle of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. There seems to be no Law of Nature more constant in history and in the affairs of men.' Sir Carleton Allen, *Democracy and the Individual*.

'The vitality of democratic processes cannot be assured by simple acquiescence in the idea that freedom to talk will result in decisions consistent with the preservation of the democratic system. . . . To the idea of toleration there must be joined energetic determination to find and disseminate truth over falsehood, the better opinion over the worse opinion. . . . Democracy is endangered wherever . . . men are allowed to freeze their convictions free from the hot discipline of exposure to contradiction.' H. D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behaviour*.

3. *Personal independence and fellowship are complementary.* 'What we need desperately in our country is to cultivate independence of mind and

fellowship of spirit . . . (and not) herd mentality with the spirit of pugnacity. You have got . . . to teach people to feel together and to think for themselves. It is going to be done in the realization of the idea that we are all children of one family, and that our Father is the God of Love.' F. A. Iremonger, *op. cit.*

'“Two is company, three is none,” says the proverb. The presence of a third party limits at once the possibility of full intimacy and self-revelation. In a group the full realization of the potentiality of fellowship is limited, and the larger the group the severer must be the limitation. This does not mean that in the larger communities fellowship is less real, or that it differs in its essential character. In the larger fellowship the full intention remains latent and potential, as it were, and is fully expressed only in the direct relations of its members, each to each.’ John Macmurray, *Conditions of Freedom*.

‘Most men have inborn a genuine and deep-seated need—it is more than an urge—to serve something greater than themselves.’ Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

4. *Discussion is necessary to produce acceptable change.* ‘Change, to be acceptable to a group, must come from within, and must appear as the visible need of its present activities. Change imposed from without is a disaster, comparable to an earthquake breaking rather than assisting integrated evolution.’ Thomas North Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society*.

‘Men who are strangers to each other, who have not rubbed up against each other for a period and worn down some rough spots in the process, never work as well together as a team which has had time to make its adjustments. Equally human institutions need decarbonizing from time to time. There is a deposit of habit, of current practice, which checks efficiency if the cylinders are not cleaned out and the valves ground in. Sometimes, though more rarely, they need re-boring. Unlike machines, they develop a great deal of internal resistance to these necessary processes. Business, owing to the constant index of the trading account, has a stimulus not to neglect them too long. The question of how to overcome that resistance in our great public services against the tremendous force of professional conservatism is democracy’s greatest unsolved problem.’ L. F. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration*.

‘A period of fifty years between the recognition of a need and the first introduction of an invention has not been unusual. This is commonly followed by 15 years of experimental tryout, and 35 years of diffusion. To put it another way, the average American school lags 25 years behind the best practice. There is no information available on the length of time

between the emergence of a need and its recognition.' P. R. Mort, *Principles of School Administration*.

5. *The value of group discussion in the education of youth.* 'Youthful opinion now tends to flatter itself into believing that it is a great deal cleverer to believe in nothing than to swallow everything they hear or read, hook, line and sinker. Education through the group and through informal discussion is one of the best methods of correcting this quite terrifying tendency. . . . Young people are at an uncomfortable stage of growth and young people nowadays live in a most uncomfortable period of history. Like little boys whistling in the dark to keep up their courage, many of them seek refuge from their innermost fears in raucous laughter and riotous behaviour, but in the organized group—under skilled leadership—large numbers . . . can and do help each other to grow, and to grow more fully.' Bureau of Current Affairs, *Discussion Method*.

'The leader (in a flexible, participant group), instead of finding himself at the focus of a fixed and rigid pattern, will be more like the centre of gravity in a dynamic equilibrium. . . . Because of the better quality of the relationships and the more permissive atmosphere, such a group will call out more initiative from its members and develop in them a greater sense of personal responsibility.' J. M. Fraser, *Human Relations in a Fully Employed Democracy*.

6. *Group participation and personal relationships.* Group participation is often inspired by a so-called old-fashioned teacher on the basis of personal relationships. Miss Clare was such a teacher. She 'is a very valuable teacher for in the first place the children are happy, they are fond of Miss Clare, and she creates for them an atmosphere of serenity and quiet which means that they can work well and cheerfully.' 'Miss Read', *Village School*.

'If your approach is based on taking the actions and feelings of others as being part of reality (however illogical from your point of view), and trying to understand the strengths and weaknesses of others (and yourself) just because all people are human beings and therefore you are interested in them, then your toughness will be respected if it is called for and your kindness will be accepted as being sincere.' Edward C. Bursk, *Human Relations for Management*.

At the Nigerian independence celebrations, 1960, the Federal Prime Minister, a Nigerian, described the British people's relationships with Nigerian people in these words: . . . *first as masters, then as leaders, finally as partners—but always as friends.*

5

LEADERSHIP

THE concept of leadership is under a cloud in many quarters. It was brought into special disrepute by the Fascist and Nazi dictators who astutely appropriated the title 'Leader' because they knew that the word had associations less unattractive than those of the word 'Dictator'. No one is tempted to call himself a dictator. Members of governments, even of dictatorial governments, are called ministers, secretaries, presidents. Parliament in Britain uses the title 'Leader' for two offices: the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition. The title that comes nearest to 'dictator' and yet remains respectable is 'director'. But the function of a director—of education, of a business firm, of an institution—is not today that of giving directions so much as that of giving a lead, a sense of direction.

The emotional overtones of words are very powerful, and no doubt many people today have little sense of the value of leaders and leadership because of irrational prejudice—the result of wartime associations of the words with dictators. But the reasons go deeper. Reaction against wartime experiences, combined with developments in techniques of mass communication, have made the ideas of equality and freedom intensely popular. And, as often happens when important ideas are popularized, their symbols acquire shallow and misleading meanings. For many people the words 'equality' and 'freedom' are now associated with crude ideas: 'I'm as good as "they" are;' 'I'm free and I can do what I like.' In this climate of opinion the old-fashioned idea, 'I can be led but I won't be

driven', has largely given way to wary suspicion: 'No one is going to lead me up the garden.'

Difficulties are accentuated because these crude ideas contain elements of important truth. People need, perhaps as never before, to be on their guard against being misled. And there is a sense, as we have noted, in which people are equal and in which freedom is an extremely important human value—a sense in which equality and freedom are real. But their reality is often lost in an emotional fog in which people are chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. In these conditions it is not easy to discover what it means to experience that real equality and freedom which alone can satisfy. The truth is that no one unable or unwilling to accept the idea that he needs leadership and authority can hope *to realize* what it means to be equal and free. (The word 'realize' is more significant than we ordinarily notice.)

Popular resistance to the idea of leadership is not only a result of the irrational overtones with which relevant words have been recently charged; it is also partly a legacy of past mistakes—of false conceptions of the meaning of leadership which gave rise to the false theory that people and nations belong irrevocably to the leader- or to the follower-category. The division of people into clear-cut, either/or categories is nearly always wrong. It is often done because of arrogance and snobbery, and it causes much resentment, unhappiness and wrong-headed prejudice. Resistance to the idea of leaders and leadership is one example.

Leadership and Followership

An understanding of the real nature of leadership and of the true functions of leaders is urgently needed. A first step is the recognition of the universality of the activities of leading and following. Our lives are pervaded by them often without our being aware of their leadership-followership nature. On many occasions, however, we act deliberately—sometimes as lead-

ers, sometimes as followers—in order to satisfy our desires or to fulfil some duty. Everyone has experience of following, of being led and misled; and few, if any, have no experience of leading and, even with the best will in the world, of misleading. Everyone, consciously and unconsciously, is both a leader and a follower. But, considering life in general, leadership is the more important function for some, followership for others. This fact is clear when we consider communities, like families and schools, which contain both adults and children. Wherever there are differences in ability, knowledge and experience—in maturity, as we say—it is the duty of the mature to give leadership to the immature. In a world which is rapidly becoming a single unit, and less rapidly a united community, some nations are at present better qualified than others to give leadership, and, as with parents in families and teachers in schools, it is their duty to accept this responsibility with its inevitable need of some degree of self-sacrifice.

In any civilized nation there are men and women who are recognized by all unprejudiced persons as supremely important leaders. They are indispensable in all branches of learning, in administration, business, education, military affairs, politics and religion. It is this kind of top-level leader, often responsible for leading large numbers, that is uppermost in mind in discussions on leadership. This is right and natural, but it is nevertheless important to remember that leadership and followership are exercised on many levels and in many diverse situations by practically everybody. Both the willing acceptance of the need for leaders and the wise exercise of leadership are influenced ultimately by many small-scale experiences of leading and following. A top-level leader is likely to be a wiser and more efficient leader if he has experiences of followership—of what it feels like to be led, for example, by his golf professional, by a domestic expert as he helps with the washing-up, by colleagues as he presides over group discussions. A lowly follower

in school or workshop is likely to be happier and therefore more efficient if he has experience of leadership—of what it feels like to lead: the workman, for example, leads in some of the affairs of his family, in giving his opinions on being consulted by his foreman, in discussions on current affairs with his friends; even the most unpromising children surprise us by taking the lead in small ways if they are given opportunities of group participation in a community atmosphere. Small classes in all schools would do much to help us to meet two urgent needs: a new and more sensible attitude to leadership; and more wise leaders at every level.

Leadership and Independence

Between the poles of leading and following there is experience of being ourselves alone—experience that may range from creative activity to more or less passive relaxation. It is part of the nature of human beings to want to be free and independent. There are times, therefore, when we forsake both leadership and followership. For example, in group discussions, after alternating rapidly between giving and following a lead, we may suspend judgment and then make a private decision. In many solitary activities we say we are expressing ourselves. We have no idea of leading or influencing others, although if we express ourselves in some concrete form we may do so in a small way, as writers and artists do in more important ways. On the other hand, we are not conscious of following a lead, although in fact we may be doing so; few, if any, forms of so-called self-expression are wholly original. But we feel free, and we believe we are experiencing on our own level something of the joy of original creation.

A good leader does not lose sight of this aspect of the humanity of his followers. His ultimate aim is to set people free to be themselves, to think and choose for themselves, and to be true to their better selves. If he produces faithful followers

without any desire to exercise initiative, he has made them less rather than more human; he has failed as a leader, however successful he may have been as an instructor, a benevolent despot or a tyrannical dictator.

Leadership and Authority

Leadership is not synonymous with personal authority. Discussion, not dictation, is one of its important methods, and it leaves more scope than authority for individual initiative. A leader enjoys discussing more than laying down the law. There is, however, a connexion between personal authority and leadership. When personal authority has to be exerted, and especially when it is unpalatable, leadership has the function of helping people to see that the authority ought to be accepted, and perhaps of helping them to get some understanding of the reason why. In practice, followers often take a short cut; after thoughtfully following a lead for a time, they catch a glimpse of the leader's goal and accept it without further thought—on the leader's authority. Much leadership, especially of the young, contains an element of personal authority, and it is not wholly deplorable if the authority is willingly accepted. But the supreme art of leadership, of the kind particularly needed in this age of rapid change, consists in minimizing authority and encouraging initiative.

The Nature of Leadership

The verb 'to lead' has some affinity with the word 'load' as in 'loadstone', the name for a stone that has magnetic properties. A leader is often pictured as someone with a magnetic personality, an attractive person able to draw others to him. The picture is useful but not wholly adequate because persons are more than things. The common picture of a leader as a shepherd leading his sheep is also inadequate because persons are more than animals. The process of leading human beings is

subtle and very difficult to describe. It is a process of influencing and guiding them in a stimulating, and at best, an inspiring way. In the early stages persuasion may have some part to play, but true leadership transcends persuasion. A leader wakes people up and stimulates them to be active on their own account. He may lead them into activities inspired by supreme human values or he may mislead them into sub-human activities. Many people are ready to be led up or down.

Leadership lies somewhere between driving people and abandoning them. The exact point depends on the total situation which is the resultant of several factors: the skill of the leader, the degree of maturity of the followers, the relationships between the leaders and followers, and the nature of the issue that is at stake. If a young child is in danger, immediate authority, not patient leadership, is necessary; if he is absorbed in painting a picture, the gentlest authority or the most delicate leadership would be an unwarrantable intrusion. The danger avoided or the picture painted, sensitive leadership may be helpful, and it would best be given in the course of sympathetically talking over the danger or the picture. Talking over a problem is a very personal kind of group discussion. The process gives a good picture of the right relationship between leader and follower—a relationship of active co-operation with much mutual giving and taking, most giving by the leader and most taking by the follower. It is obviously different from a relationship of dominance-submission, and subtly different from one of good fellowship. Conciliation in an atmosphere of good fellowship is often necessary but by itself it is not leadership; in some circumstances it may be a sign of weakness. However, it involves consultation and it tends to create good-will; in these ways it may make frank discussion and leadership possible.

Leadership Qualities

Leadership and followership, as we have described them,

depend on truly personal relationships between people living in groups. We should therefore expect to find that the qualities of both leaders and followers are the essential qualities characteristic of people who are really human. This expectation is fully borne out by the many lists of leadership qualities that have been compiled.¹

Many of these qualities fall into three categories: (1) intellectual qualities such as *intelligence* and *knowledge*; (2) temperamental, character and social qualities such as *courage*, *determination*, *human sympathy*, *sincerity*, and the complex whole of moral qualities called *integrity*; (3) physical qualities such as *good health*, *vitality*, *energy* and *physical presence*. Some leadership qualities flow from or are compounded of qualities from two or three of these categories: *self-confidence* (intelligence, knowledge, courage); *ability to inspire confidence* (intelligence, knowledge, human sympathy, sincerity); *common sense* and *good judgment* (intelligence, knowledge, integrity); *ability to communicate* (intelligence, knowledge of subjects, people and the right uses of language, human sympathy); *tact* (intelligence, human sympathy, ability to communicate); *flexibility of mind* (intelligence, knowledge of subjects and people, vitality); *social sensitivity* (knowledge of people, human sympathy); *enduring toughness* (courage, determination, good health); *decisiveness* (intelligence, knowledge, courage, determination); *patience* (human sympathy, good health); *humility* (human sympathy, knowledge that intelligence, academic attainment and the valuable power that flows from them are not the sole foundations of the good life).

Our list contains twenty-two qualities and others could be added. It gives a very different picture of a leader from the popular picture of someone who possesses a mystical, indefinable quality called leadership which he radiates in all kinds of

¹ For a comprehensive summary see L. F. Urwick, *Leadership in the 20th Century* (Pitman, 1957), pp. 49-52.

situation—a quality possessed only by a small minority, partly the result of inheritance and partly of a special type of education for which children should be selected at an early age.

The top-level leaders in a nation are, of course, a small minority of highly intelligent people, and no one should under-rate their importance or the importance of stimulating highly intelligent children to develop their ability to the fullest possible extent by advanced academic education. But the quality needed for leadership is compounded of many human qualities, and its ingredients and their relative amounts vary with the situation. Some superior degree of knowledge, and generally of intelligence, is obviously needed in all leadership situations. There are however other essential factors—good judgment and good personal relationships—and for promoting these the character and social qualities of leaders are supremely important. Some intelligent people with high academic qualifications are not the top-level leaders they ought to be; despite their high intelligence and all their academic knowledge, they are not persons of good judgment. Lacking human sympathy, without any intimate experience of ordinary people, attaching great importance to their own status, and prone to adopt a patronizing attitude, they are stupid in their human relationships. They may be pompous, suspicious or cynical; they may give the impression of being remote and superior. They are the kind of people they would deplore seeing their followers becoming, and consequently they unconsciously mislead them in the opposite direction from that in which consciously they wish to lead them. All leaders should therefore face this question honestly: Am I the kind of person I desire to see my followers becoming? Socially stupid leaders turn their potential followers into resentful or apathetic opponents—people who cannot see any sense in the idea of leadership.

There are, of course, many mediocre persons who are too stupid—proud, unintelligent, ignorant—to follow even good

leadership. They remind us that followers as well as leaders need certain positive qualities. In fact, the qualities of leadership and followership cannot be usefully considered separately, for both leaders and followers need personal qualities compounded of many of the same ingredients, though obviously in different amounts.

There are many types of stupid people, and some are so common that few of us can be sure of being blameless. From yet another angle we see the importance of participating in group discussions. It is the best kind of therapy for eradicating many kinds of social stupidity, the commonest handicap to the exercise (by leaders) and the appreciation (by followers) of good leadership.

Natural Leadership

Despite all that has been said, it must be admitted that leaders of genius have always appeared to possess some special leadership quality, and some people seem on first acquaintance to stand out as natural leaders. For example, some young children, not necessarily the most intelligent, immediately take the lead among their contemporaries. It would be interesting to know whether leadership of this kind in early years is a persistent quality or a flash in the pan. Some evidence might be obtained by a study of the biographies of top-level leaders, and on a lower level by observations of the personality development of pupils in school, year by year.

The possibility of natural leadership raises many difficult questions: How far does so-called natural leadership depend on physical presence? How far on special temperamental factors? How far is it due to self-confidence produced by a 'superior' family culture, and in modern conditions is self-confidence that rests chiefly on this foundation likely to be permanent? Can a specially favourable culture in home and school compensate for relatively low intelligence in a leader?

Can education, by developing intelligence and integrity, compensate for lack of the obvious natural qualities and cultural advantages that make for leadership?

A consideration of questions such as these throws doubt on the reality of a natural gift for leadership inherited as a special unitary factor in human personality. This doubt is confirmed by the new ideas about leadership that are now seen to be necessary. First, leadership is seen to be one aspect of a co-operative activity between leaders and followers. Second, this kind of activity is essential at many levels and in many situations. At all levels, even the lowest, some degree of intelligence is needed among leaders and followers; but integrity, good character and social sensitivity are also needed, for the fundamental basis of all leadership and followership is good personal relationships. And these can be cultivated to a high degree among persons of all degrees of intelligence. Third, it is now clear that exceptionally able top-level leaders are needed in much greater numbers and variety. At this level, leaders need wide knowledge of persons and of their general achievements, combined with deep knowledge of some speciality. These kinds of knowledge can be cultivated, by advanced secondary and further education, in people of high intelligence from all classes of society. In bygone days many of these people would have been judged deficient in the quality of leadership because they were not at ease in the presence of their social or academic superiors; today, social and academic education and the better understanding on both sides of the significance and value of personal relationships is making it possible for their high potential leadership to emerge.

Types of Leaders

The clearer recognition that leadership is part of a co-operative activity has led to a change of emphasis on two of its necessary elements: personal command and persuasion. Domi-

nant leaders of strong, commanding personality are still necessary in some situations both in the school and the world. But if they depend too much on compulsion they may cease to be leaders and become tyrants; and they will have followers who are blindly submissive without minds of their own. Persuasive leaders of attractive personality and good character, and with a clear appreciation of the reality of human values, are supremely important, and they are less dangerous than the dominant type for they tend to attract willing, consenting followers. There is, however, a third and higher type—democratic leaders of understanding personality. As a general rule they do not exercise personal power either of command or even persuasion. They influence members of the group, but they themselves, being members inside their groups, are also influenced; they contribute but they also collect views; they show initiative in thinking and reasoning but they also encourage it in their followers. They pool their own experiences and knowledge with those of others, and in this way they 'create a group power rather than express a personal power'. They may be recognized as experts but, unlike many experts, they do not lose their sense of proportion. They do not exact obedience either by command or persuasion so much as they inspire co-operation. They talk of 'we' rather than of 'I' and 'you'. They think of others not so much as subordinates and followers, but rather as colleagues if they are adults, and as fellow-explorers if they are children. When giving leadership they are never unduly concerned about their own importance and status.

The frequent exercise of leadership, even if it is predominantly democratic, is apt to make people lose the common touch in ordinary life when they ought to be 'off parade'. Leaders are therefore all the better, as we have said, for experiences of followership. Some leaders of genius, Nelson for example, have been extremely vain and fond of flattery in ordinary life. Several questions arise: Should top-level leaders,

who carry heavy loads of responsibility, be forgiven for being 'characters'? How far is it justifiable for them to build up a reputation for eccentricity? What can persons in supervisory positions do to counteract the possible ill-effects of being leaders and directors of the relatively immature?

All leadership is an amalgam of personal authority, persuasion and inspiration, but to a democratic leader persuasion is more valuable than authority, and inspiration is the most valuable of all. The significance of this new type of leader can be clearly understood if we make a distinction between power-over and power-with. Commanding and persuasive leaders exert power over other people; democratic leaders exert power with them, and the led then feel exhilarated by an access of power which by themselves they would never have developed.

The object of the leader of a group discussion is not, as some cynics assert, to give members an illusion of participating. The democratic leader does not conduct a conference, a committee meeting or a discussion on classroom rules with the private reservation that the members can say what they like because it will make no difference; he is not the tricky leader, the type of person who has 'the art of devious conversation which he uses to conceal an undeviating aim'. He is sincere in his desire to hear all shades of opinion, and he is not afraid that free expression of opinion will have a stultifying effect; he knows that this is the way to get the right conclusion, which may be something different from what was originally in his own mind or in the minds of those he is leading. The right conclusion is not what he demands; it is not always what the majority is inclined at first to demand; it is what the situation demands, and this becomes clear only in the course of discussions—an essential educative process for leaders and led, for majorities and minorities. It follows that the function of a democratic leader is not to give orders so much as to take orders—from the

situation. The essence of democratic leadership lies therefore in discovering the law of the total situation (LOTS) by the joint study of the problem—with colleagues in conference, with fellow-explorers in classrooms. It follows that the issue of personal orders, even in courteous and charming form, falls short of the democratic ideal; 'one *person* should not give orders to another *person*, but both should agree to take their orders from the situation.'¹

Limitations of Leadership

It is often impossible to live up to this ideal in ordinary life. In many complicated situations the imperative LOTS cannot be discovered; the best that can be achieved is a workable compromise which cannot wholly satisfy everybody. Persons in supervisory positions—administrators, inspectors, headmasters and especially teachers in charge of children—must often make suggestions which have persuasive force, and sometimes issue instructions based on the law of the situation as they see it; they must take short cuts at least occasionally, and act in persuasive or even commanding ways. If, however, their prevailing attitude is that of a democratic leader, their suggestions and instructions need not be taken as personal and possibly therefore offensive. Many of the pronouncements of a democratic leader apply as much to himself as to those who receive them. It is not enough however for the leader only to be aware of this; he must keep others equally aware. There are two methods: he should make full use wherever possible of consultation and discussion in which his democratic attitude is made crystal clear, and by means of which he learns to understand the personalities of those he wishes to lead; and he should consider how the wording of his communications might strike them, especially those who are prone to be awkward. He

¹ M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration* (Management Publications Trust, 1941), p. 59.

should beware also of his own weaknesses in cultivating and maintaining personal relationships.

All the responsibility for avoiding misunderstanding does not, however, rest with the leader. When dealing with adults he might exhort them to put the best construction on all his words and deeds as a new Speaker does in his first address to the House of Commons. We should all beware, when playing a subordinate role, of becoming over-sensitive and resentful, of seeing causes of offence where none was intended. This advice is particularly hard to follow when we have become habituated to playing supervisory roles. A teacher who becomes an administrator finds it hard, after correcting children's compositions for twenty years, to accept a suggestion that the content and style of his reports might be improved, even if the suggestion comes from a democratic leader known to be very critical of his own composition; a headmaster, after 'keeping discipline' in school for forty years, may resent a psychologist's suggestion that the compilation of record cards of children's progress is a good discipline.

Human nature and human situations are infinitely varied. The school of leadership-followership is therefore a hard one in which to learn, and we all need its discipline both as leaders and followers. It is a school where the best leaders continue to learn all through their lives.

SUMMARY

Leading and following are co-operative activities common to all human beings. Co-operation is stimulated by good personal relationships. Such relationships make it possible for leadership to be exercised so that followers appreciate its value.

Leaders and followers need human qualities—intellectual, social, physical and character qualities—the details and degrees of which vary with the situation. As people can be led up or down, leaders, as distinct from misleaders, should be persons

with a worthy scale of human values in which spiritual values rank higher than material ones.

Leadership and followership are necessary in many situations at different levels. All people are at times leaders, at other times followers, but leadership is exercised more frequently by some and followership by others.

Although leaders and followers need many qualities similar in kind, leaders obviously need some qualities, especially intelligence and social sensitivity, in a high degree. It does not seem necessary however to postulate a special unitary factor in human personality that is in some mysterious way essential to leadership.

A relatively small number of top-level leaders are indispensable and of very great value; they need, in an exceptionally high degree, intelligence, knowledge, social sensitivity and integrity. All persons who appear to have top-level leadership potentiality, whether as pupils in school or employees at work, should therefore be given responsibility and all-round education at all stages to the highest degree of which they are capable.

Leadership involves command, persuasion, inspiration and appeals to reason. In its highest form, called democratic leadership, inspiration and appeals to reason are more important than command or persuasion. Democratic leaders encourage their followers to exercise initiative and accept personal responsibility.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Leaders and Leadership, E. S. Bogardus (Appleton, 1934); *Leadership in a Free Society*, T. N. Whitehead (Oxford Univ. Press, 1936); *The Group Approach to Leadership-Testing*, H. Harris (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949); *Leadership in Education*, Sir Richard Livingstone (Oxford Univ. Press, 1950); *Education and Leadership*, Sir Eric (now Lord) James (Harrap, 1951); *Leadership in the 20th Century*, L. F. Urwick (Pitman, 1957).

Discussion topics. 1. *Changes in the concept of leadership.* The modern leader is not the man with compelling or even persuasive personality so much as the knowledgeable, sincere man 'who can energize his group, who knows how to encourage initiative, how to draw from all what each has to give'; by heightening the individuality of group members he increases their sense of freedom, by thinking in advance wherever possible he avoids the need of making frequent snap decisions; he has the ability to help the group to see not what he wants but what the situation demands; he 'can organize the experience of the group and . . . transform experience into power'; he arouses 'not the attitudes of obedience but the attitudes of co-operation'. *Conclusion:* 'Don't exploit your personality; learn your job . . . for the leadership of function is tending to become more important than the leadership of personality.' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

2. *Leaders of different types.* (a) Harsh dominating leaders who 'work on' a group: they produce 'intense competition, avoidance of responsibility, unwillingness to co-operate, aggression among members, irritability.'

(b) Benevolent autocratic leaders who 'work for' a group: they produce 'regression to childlike dependence, lack of initiative'.

(c) Democratic leaders who 'work within' a group: they produce 'co-operation, enthusiasm, acceptance of greater responsibility, a sense of the importance of the work being done, and a recognition among members of the worth of each other'. Kimball Wiles, *Supervision for Better Schools*.

3. *Experts as leaders.* 'The expert may be a dangerous leader for he sees his own speciality large and the rest of the world small.' E. S. Bogardus, *Leaders and Leadership*.

4. *Leaders inspire confidence.* 'The leader's power of decision results from his ability to remain imperturbable in the crisis. His calmness prevents panic and his resolution compels action. It follows from this that the leader must be less fearful than his men. He need not be impervious to fear, since men require a human figure to lead them. What he must do is to radiate an atmosphere of confidence which will show his men he is less afraid than they.' Lord Montgomery, *Forward from Victory*.

'The gift of overlooking difficulties seems often to be a part of the genius of leadership.' Swedish Bishop Brilioth, quoted by F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple*.

'A man becomes a leader in education not because he wishes to lead but because he satisfies some need of which his pupils are hardly aware, some obscure desire latent in the soul . . . the great leader in education is a man

capable of seizing and transmitting something of eternal significance drawn from sources beyond himself.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Leadership in Education*.

'The person who influences me most is not he who does great deeds, but he who makes me feel that I can do great deeds.' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

'You will never have confidence in yourself until you see others have confidence in you.' Duke of Wellington, as quoted in Lord (Philip Henry) Stanhope, *Notes of Conversations with Wellington*.

5. *The production of leaders.* In the interests of wise, acceptable leadership we need today the widest possible diffusion of leadership and followership in all our social institutions. The following quotation gives an illustration from one such institution—business—but in reading it the words 'education service', 'education office', 'school', 'classroom' can usefully be substituted for the word 'business':

'Centralization of management ensures, as nearly as any administrative policy can, that there will be a minimal flow upwards of rising leaders, let alone those of the first class. It robs the business of the conditions of early responsibility, individual opportunity, and initiative in which leadership is bred from within the business or by which ambitious and capable men will be attracted into the business from outside.' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

'It is a poor education that does not draw human beings into participation in many things they do rather badly, a thin and partial conception of leadership in which the same folks are not sometimes leaders and sometimes led.' *Secondary Education*, A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.

6. *Education and leadership.* 'Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave.' Henry, Baron Brougham.

'The people of a nation can live full and fruitful lives in either one of two educational extremes:

(i) When as a nation they are so well educated socially that the great majority have learned the art and principles of living. That is the state of social maturity.

(ii) When the nation remains in the simplicity of uneducated ignorance under the skilled leadership of a deeply-cultured minority. That is the state of social tutelage.

This country has outgrown the latter, and has not yet advanced to the

former. We are, as a nation, at that most difficult stage—educational adolescence.’ Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

‘The skilled teacher is the person who has learnt when he ought to use his prestige, greater knowledge and experience and more mature personality and adopt the role of a leader, and when his teaching ability can be employed to greater effect by allowing his pupils the untrammelled exercise of their freedom and creative impulses.’ S. J. Curtis, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*.

For selecting leaders ‘the criteria of wealth and social origin are in process of rejection. Intelligence quotients and academic ability are taking their place. Yet by themselves these favoured criteria will not do. They leave out too much and shut out too many.’ From an article in *The Times*, 23 October 1961. In this situation what leadership qualities should educators try to develop in addition to intelligence and academic ability?

7. *Leadership and freedom*. ‘Leadership is something more than management. It has a special meaning which includes *creativity*. . . . Creative leadership involves arranging the situation so that mutual goals and understanding weld people into harmonious teams. . . . Methods of domination which have been used are more suitable for the jungle than for our present civilization. . . . We need now perhaps more than ever before a style of leadership which will emphasize moral principles and the freedom and dignity of man.’ Roger Bellows, *Creative Leadership*.

‘The leader must be skilled at creating a climate which is conducive to initiative. . . . His ability to minimize his own influence and power in the interests of encouraging maximum contributions from the group is highly important.’ J. M. Hughes, *Human Relations in Educational Organization*.

8. *The essence of democratic leadership*. It lies in discovering laws of total situations by joint study. See p. 136 and consider this quotation:

‘The very use of the same word “law” in government and in science implies that government must be like science, and must learn to conform to the nature of its material. In this view, which has penetrated Western thought since the Renaissance, legislation is not a matter of edict but, at bottom, of research; and the state, if it is to survive, must not impose its laws but must discover them in the nature of human relations.’ J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, *The Western Intellectual Tradition*.

6

FREEDOM

THE words 'free' and 'freedom' are in many contexts emotional rather than meaningful words. They are useful for making rousing slogans: political slogans such as 'Set the people free'; educational slogans such as 'Give children more freedom.' A slogan was originally a Highland war-cry (Gaelic *shuaghghairm* — *shuagh*, host; *gairm*, outcry). Many people today are 'shouting out the battle-cry of freedom'. Slogans have their uses; otherwise they would not be so popular, especially among advertisers and politicians. Educationists too need to rouse people, and they should therefore not despise the use of emotional words. But highly emotional words like 'freedom' should be used with an understanding of their meaning as well as with an appreciation of the power of their emotional overtones. They will then have power to arouse thought as well as emotion. The only real justification of the use of slogans, especially in education, is to stir people to think and act, not to stir them to act without thinking. There is a danger that classroom slogans like 'free activity' and 'free discipline' may lead to unthinking, unwise practice. It is necessary to consider carefully what the word 'freedom' means.

If it is to convey meaning with even a slight degree of precision it must be used with a preposition: 'freedom for' as in freedom for children or oppressed peoples; 'freedom from' as in freedom from want, fear or irritating interference; 'freedom in' as in freedom in education or in the classroom; 'freedom of' as in freedom of action, conscience, opinion, speech,

will or worship; and with a slightly different meaning in freedom of the library, of the city or of the seas.

The prepositions are to some extent interchangeable; most 'freedoms-of' could, for example, be expressed as 'freedoms-to'. There is however a clearer distinction between 'freedom-from' and 'freedom-to'; one is negative, the other positive. Negative kinds of freedom are important chiefly because they make positive kinds possible. Freedom from want and fear, for example, sets people free to do something, at best to be creative.

When the word 'freedom' is linked with prepositions it becomes clear that freedom is not a single entity; there are many freedoms. It is however convenient in many contexts to use the word unlinked and in the singular as if it were a symbol for a single reality. But when the word stands alone questions are always implied: freedom from what? in what situation? and most important of all, freedom for what? to do what? And when the word is used with 'from' or 'in', the questions, freedom for what? to do what? should always be asked.

Freedom in Life and Education

The term 'freedom in education' has a wide connotation. It calls to mind first *the freedom of children*, for example, from fear and unnecessary anxiety, freedom to participate in the life of the school and classroom, freedom to choose and exercise personal responsibility. Equally important is *the freedom of teachers*, for example, freedom of opinion on teaching methods and curriculum, freedom from the burden of large classes so that they can put into practice a worthy philosophy of education, freedom for study and recuperation, freedom to participate in policy-making through the medium of professional associations. Freedom in education is a topic with endless ramifications, and it is relevant not only to children and teachers. It also involves *the freedom of parents*: for example, to pay for education in independent schools, to choose de-

nominal schools in the public sector of education; and *the freedom of local education authorities*: for example, to decide how secondary education can best be organized to meet local needs.

Thinking about large numbers of particular instances in any field is always facilitated by the grasp of general principles. It is important therefore to consider whether there are any general principles applicable to freedom in widely different situations, any general lessons about the nature of freedom. Such lessons should help to provide a foundation for clear thinking and discussion about freedom in the world and in all parts of the vast field of education.

For some years freedom for children has been a popular doctrine. Today many are saying that the doctrine is merely a foolish fashion that has done much harm. Freedom, they say, has turned classrooms into bear-gardens and pupils into hooligans, if not into juvenile delinquents; it is stopping teachers from teaching and pupils from learning—with the result that many children are leaving school unable to read properly, unable to spell and grossly ignorant of elementary facts. Freedom in the classroom is having a bad Press.

Freedom in the world, however, is having a good Press. Never was so much being written in praise of freedom. Never was so large a fraction of our peace-time national income being spent on defence—on the defence of freedom, as we believe. In Britain there is nothing new in this attitude to freedom. Writers and statesmen have long sung its praises, and it is our proud boast that history records a continual and stubborn insistence on individual liberty.

It is not only in this country that the cry for freedom is heard. All over the world freedom is being loudly proclaimed, but unfortunately the word is being used in widely different and sometimes conflicting senses. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads: *All human beings are born free*

and equal in dignity and rights. 'Man is born free', and yet as Rousseau said, 'everywhere he is in chains.' He is nevertheless continually trying to throw off his chains. But when man has struggled successfully for freedom, he does not always seem to know what to do with it, and he submits himself with relief or resignation to new forms of tyranny. It is one of the puzzling paradoxes of our times. Let us look at the modern world, as if it were a large-scale model, and try to learn some general lessons about the nature of freedom.

The Importance of Freedom

The first lesson is that the idea of freedom is so important for human beings that they are willing to suffer and even to die for it. Actual freedom, as distinct from the idea, is not however always and for all men so attractive. It involves responsibility, and this is felt by some to be a burden, sometimes an alarming burden; they are afraid of freedom. Furthermore free men, by using their freedom unwisely, sometimes find themselves in difficulties. These human weaknesses and defects do not however alter the fact that it is of the very essence of human nature to be free: we are made that way. We know in our heart of hearts that freedom is a spiritual necessity, and that its pursuit is fundamentally more important than the pursuit of comfort or material security. In struggling for freedom we are obeying a law of our nature; we are striving to fulfil our destiny, for freedom is a necessary means to the end of achieving the good life, of becoming, in the highest sense, human.

Freedom is Subject to Limitations

When we say that it is our nature to be free, are we saying that freedom means doing what we like? We can give an affirmative answer on one condition: that what we like is in accord with our real nature as human beings. If it is not, any feeling of freedom we may get by doing what we like cannot

satisfy us permanently; if we always act in accord with the animal or sub-human side of our nature, we are bound to experience uncomfortable feelings of mental conflict so long as we remain human. Let us consider two important human characteristics. First, we have relatively superior intelligence, and if we are to be free we must be sensible; we must like what is within our capacity or, by using our intelligence, we must improve our capacity and thus set ourselves free in the new desired direction. Second, we are social beings and not merely gregarious animals; it is our nature to enter into personal relationships and if we fall short life is not permanently satisfying however much we may for a time enjoy a selfish kind of freedom. It is not the nature of truly human beings to be amoral or immoral—to be callous, cruel or dishonest for example—and if we gain freedom by such means it will turn out to be Dead Sea fruit.

To sum up, if we are to be free to do what we like, we must like what is sensible and good. Personal freedom involves the responsibility of choosing these kinds of action, and there can be no lasting freedom unless this responsibility is accepted. The degree and permanence of personal freedom depend on the extent to which we succeed in living consistently according to our real human nature, that is as responsible persons who are both sensible and good, or in other words, rational and moral. 'Men's freedom', as Macmurray has said, 'consists in the power to choose to become what by nature they are intended to be . . . if they try to escape from their own nature they are under the natural punishment of the Divine order . . . and they can never succeed, any more than a dog can succeed in becoming a giraffe.'¹

We cannot think of freedom in a practical way without also thinking of the inevitable limitations to which it is subject. Man is destined to be free, but freedom is possible only within areas

¹ John Macmurray, *Conditions of Freedom* (Faber, 1949).

ringed by limitations. This is a second important lesson about the nature of freedom.

Freedom and the Environment

The physical and biological environments obviously impose many limitations on our freedom. Gravitation, for example, prevents us from being free to fly out of the window; climate prevents us from being free to grow strawberries out of doors in winter. Most of our forefathers accepted these limitations without question and did not feel that their liberty was being invaded. Scientists, however, are teaching us how to create new conditions in which submission to the laws of nature is less limiting. By controlling nature, as we say, they are making it possible for men to be free within larger areas. In one sense men are now free to fly, but many cannot enjoy this freedom because of economic limitations; the larger area of possible freedom is ringed by limitations of which they were not formerly conscious.

Freedom and Self-control

Enlarging the areas of possible freedom does not necessarily increase men's feeling of freedom. Unless they learn to limit their demands it may make them feel less free. As Macmurray says, 'Self-control is as imperative as control of nature if freedom is to be increased or even maintained.'¹ People who are always crying for the moon never feel free. (It is interesting to note that the metaphor 'crying for the moon' may in time need to be replaced by a new one.) If we are to be free, we must erect rings of limitations for ourselves. This lesson is perhaps harder to learn than it was in a simpler age, for increase in technical resources tends to make us expect too much from life; it tends to make us vain or even arrogant, and we find it hard to accept the fact that it is the meek who inherit the earth.

¹ op. cit.

Humility, the cultivation of a spirit of 'sweet well-content', is in some situations an essential condition of real freedom.

Freedom and Culture

This lesson—that freedom can be enjoyed only within limitations—is reinforced when we reflect that it is not only the physical and biological environments and each individual's own nature—his reason and his conscience—that set limits to freedom. The culture into which we are born imposes an inexorable limitation on personal freedom. This limitation is imposed so consistently that we are often no more conscious of it than we are of the atmospheric pressure of 15 lb. that presses on every square inch of our bodies from every direction. Physically we live in compressed air; mentally and socially we live in a social atmosphere created by the culture we inherit. Freedom, in the sense of being able to do whatever we like, is again seen to be a myth. The limitations of culture, however, like those of gravitation, are not absolute. On the contrary, culture today makes possible many freedoms that were denied to primitive man. It has been created, and is continually being modified for better or worse, by man striving to be free. In submitting to its influence we do not therefore feel that our liberty is being invaded, unless we are denied by others all opportunities for making our own personal contribution.

Freedom and Other People

We are now leaving the sure ground of limitations like those imposed by the physical and biological environments, self-control and culture; we are entering the debatable territory of limitations imposed by other people on our personal freedom. By what right do others interfere with us? First, by the right to their own freedom. Freedom for ourselves alone is another myth, for if everyone claimed absolute freedom no one would be free. If we sincerely believe that freedom is one aspect of

man's destiny we must be ready to acknowledge that other people have a right to be free, and this means that sometimes we must willingly accept some limitations imposed by others on our personal freedom.

We are thus brought face to face with the fact that the successful pursuit of freedom for all in a community, as distinct from the futile pursuit of a narrow, selfish freedom, involves much 'give-and-take': freely as we receive, so freely must we give. Freedom clearly depends therefore on how we feel towards one another—on relationships between people. One enemy of good relationships is love of power; another is fear. Being afraid of other people we seek to increase our power, to dominate them, and the result is mutual distrust, hostility and hatred. Each tries to make himself powerful or secure by excessively curtailing the freedom of others; this is the road to violence, terror and tyranny. Good relationships are those of toleration, respect, friendliness and love; where these exist, freedom is possible. To quote Macmurray again. 'The struggle for freedom is the struggle . . . for the triumph of friendship over mistrust, of love over fear.'¹ This is a third important lesson: good relationships between people are an essential condition of freedom. It is as fundamental as the others: (1) the importance of freedom as part of the very essence of our nature; (2) the inevitability of limitations on freedom, limitations set by the physical, biological and cultural environments, by self-control in obedience to our nature as rational and moral beings with individual responsibility, and limitations imposed by others in pursuit of their own freedom.

Other people, however, often claim to limit our freedom because they say it is good for us; it is, they say, in the real ultimate interests of our own freedom. This claim presupposes that others may know better the things that belong to our freedom than we do ourselves. Charles I made this claim: 'For the

¹ op. cit.

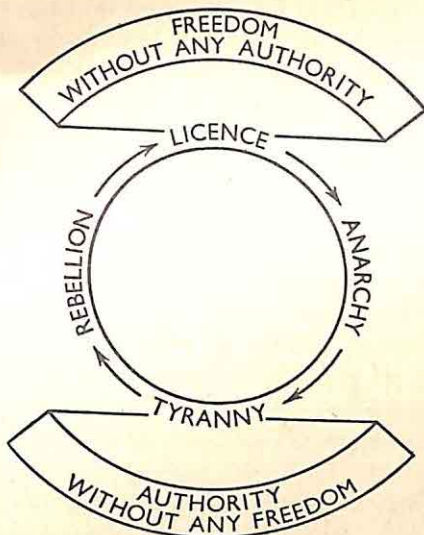
People; and truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any Body; but I must tell you, that Liberty and Freedom consists in having the Government of those Laws, by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own.' In one of its extreme, distorted forms the doctrine is that since true freedom is freedom to do what is right, the right way should be prescribed by a dictator (often mis-called 'the leader') or by a small all-powerful caucus, and everyone should then be compelled to follow it.

The doctrine that compulsion is necessary for the attainment of freedom has some validity. We are rightly compelled to do many things by the laws of the land, and the penalty for breaking the law is a severe deprivation of personal freedom—a fine or imprisonment. And it is not only the law-breaker who risks losing his freedom. We should all be less free than we are if the authority of the law were not generally obeyed. Much of the freedom enjoyed by individuals in civilized countries is freedom under the law. The crucial point is that in a democracy the people participate in the process of law-making.

Freedom and Authority

We have so far used three words to describe restrictions on freedom: 'limitation', 'control', 'authority'. The word 'authority' is often used in a wide sense to cover all these forms of restriction, and for convenience of exposition we shall now follow this common usage.

Neither freedom nor authority can exist in any real sense without the other. Freedom without any authority is not freedom; it is licence: authority without any freedom is not authority; it is tyranny. Freedom and authority, so far from being incompatible and antithetical, are complementary and interdependent. Freedom without authority (licence) produces anarchy, anarchy provokes authority without freedom (tyranny), tyranny provokes rebellion, rebellion breeds licence.



This circle—licence, anarchy, tyranny, rebellion, licence—is illustrated by recent history in which we have witnessed a struggle for unlimited freedom proclaimed in the eighteenth century, followed by a struggle for unlimited authority proclaimed in the twentieth. The need of the world today is to break out of the licence-tyranny-licence circle, and it can only be done by the recognition everywhere—in families, schools, colleges, nations—that freedom worth having can be attained only within a framework of genuine authority willingly accepted. In the complicated business of living, authorities are of many kinds and they have different values in different situations. It is not possible therefore to define precisely which are genuine, and the word must remain to that extent a question-begging epithet. The ability to recognize genuine authority in various situations, however, is part of the wisdom we must acquire and try to transmit to others.

The lowest form of authority is tyranny which works by

force and fear and takes no account of the power of love. The ideal form is an authority which renounces force and fear and relies wholly on the power of love. If everyone in a position of authority were able consistently to exercise authority of this kind, and if everyone were willing to accept it, the road to freedom would be open. In theological language such universal freedom can be won only by world-wide submission to God; His service is perfect freedom, in the words of the collect for peace in the Church of England prayer-book.

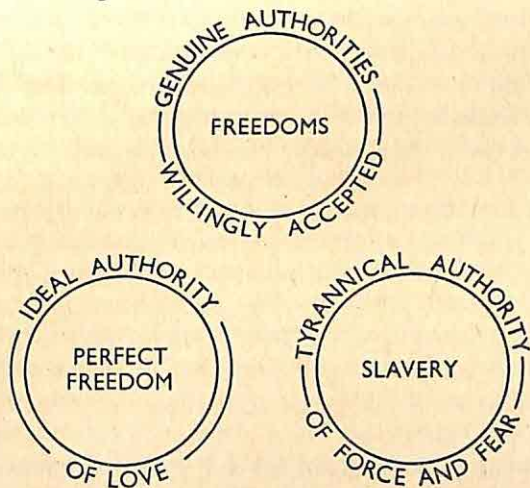
We thus return to the importance of self-control, and we get a glimpse of those deceptively simple questions: Why is it wrong to do wrong? Why is it right to do right? The second question is even more important than the first, for a moral person does not merely avoid doing what is wrong; he seeks to do what is right. True morality is positive rather than negative.

Many actions are seen to be wrong because their immediate consequences are obviously contrary to personal and social interest; it needs little imagination to see what would happen if everyone were a thief. But the difference between right and wrong is not a mere question of personal and social expediency, of weighing the obvious and immediate consequences of acts in particular situations. We are conscious of general concepts of right and wrong. There is a sense in which it seems to be true to say that these concepts have been built up on the basis of judgments of consequences; but the consequences are wider, deeper and more long-term than those we have in mind when we judge whether an act is expedient or not. Most people accept the judgments which have been made through the ages by men and women gifted with special insight into the nature and destiny of man and which are now incorporated in our culture. All wrong actions have this in common: they are at variance with man's nature as a rational and moral being with individual responsibility, they drag him down, they are out of harmony with the purpose of the universe, or to use the

theologian's words, they are contrary to the will of God. And such actions are, as we have seen (p. 147), destructive of personal freedom. In the words of Milton:

Licence they mean when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that must first be good and wise.

A good person recognizes the difference between right and wrong, and he prefers right to wrong. But there are occasions when he may need to be worldly-wise. To give an extreme example, he may have to decide in a particular situation whether it is wise to do wrong because the claims of expediency seem to be overwhelming.



The Nature of Genuine Authority

We can now state a fourth lesson: freedom is sustained by willing submission to genuine authority. The impersonal authority of the physical and biological environments is accepted by everyone as genuine, though even in these spheres man is ever striving to become more free—not by ignoring the

authority but by discovering new ways of obeying it, for example, by inventing aeroplanes and rockets, by breeding better plants and animals. How can genuine authority of a more personal kind be created and made acceptable? There is obviously no place for the authority of a tyrannical dictator. A benevolent dictator is sometimes recommended, but this concept is illusory for it rests on a contradiction in terms. True benevolence involves respect for the freedom of others—respect amounting to reverence for human personality: it is incompatible with the idea of dictatorship.

Workable but by no means perfect solutions of the problem have been found, especially in democratic communities. They can be seen at work on a large scale in the creation of national forms of authority, both traditional and legal. In Britain, for example, culture and laws have been and are still being evolved by a process of discussion in an atmosphere of freedom. The demands of situations gradually become clearer, though seldom so clear that everyone is able to agree. Then, in law-making, majority decisions are accepted, not because they are always right but because, if they are reached after full and free discussion guided by wise leadership, they are more likely to be right than minority decisions. But as situations and opinions change, the shape of authority has to be modified, very radically when minorities become majorities. The process of evolving the kind of authority that is acceptable as being genuine and necessary, despite the fact that it contains a personal element, is slow and never-ending, for there is only one method—free discussion guided by wise leadership designed to discover the laws of ever-changing situations.

‘The truth’, said Christ, ‘shall make you free.’ On few matters, except those of simple fact, can one person possess the whole truth, and the way to approach it is often by the fullest and freest discussion of opposing opinions. There is, as J. S. Mill says in his essay, *On Liberty*,

a peculiar evil in silencing the expression of an opinion . . . it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

The technique of free discussion, of bringing truth and error into collision, is in many situations the only way of shaking us out of 'the deep slumber of a decided opinion', of revealing the law of the total situation, and of convincing would-be rebels that freedom can be achieved only by willing submission to it.

A person's knowledge, insight, skill or character may be so patently superior that we call the person an authority in his special subject. He has reached his position of authority by a process that is in essence the same as that just described, for no one can become a genuine authority unless he has academic freedom; he must be free to study previous authorities, to formulate his own views, and to discuss them freely with himself in private contemplation and with others in intimate conversations and public discussions. We often rightly accept the ideas of these authorities, and when we discuss them, it is not so much in order to improve them as to improve our own grasp of them. Ideally, it should be noted, it is not the person but the truth for which he stands that is the real authority that can set us free.

The word 'authority' is used in reference not only to persons but also to institutions, to organized groups of people to whom we give willing obedience. A religious denomination is for its members an authority in this sense. In Britain, the Department of Education and Science is the central authority for education, and County Councils are local education authorities. In a democracy, authorities of these kinds derive their powers ultimately from the people. The general purpose of authorities,

whether personal or institutional, is to promote the common good, and to this end they regulate our lives, keeping as far as possible a balance between the preservation of the rights of individuals and the community, an equilibrium between conflicting rights and freedoms—‘the equilibrium we call justice’.

We can now state a fifth lesson: discussion guided by wise leadership in an atmosphere of freedom is essential for the creation of a genuine and acceptable authority.

Education in Freedom

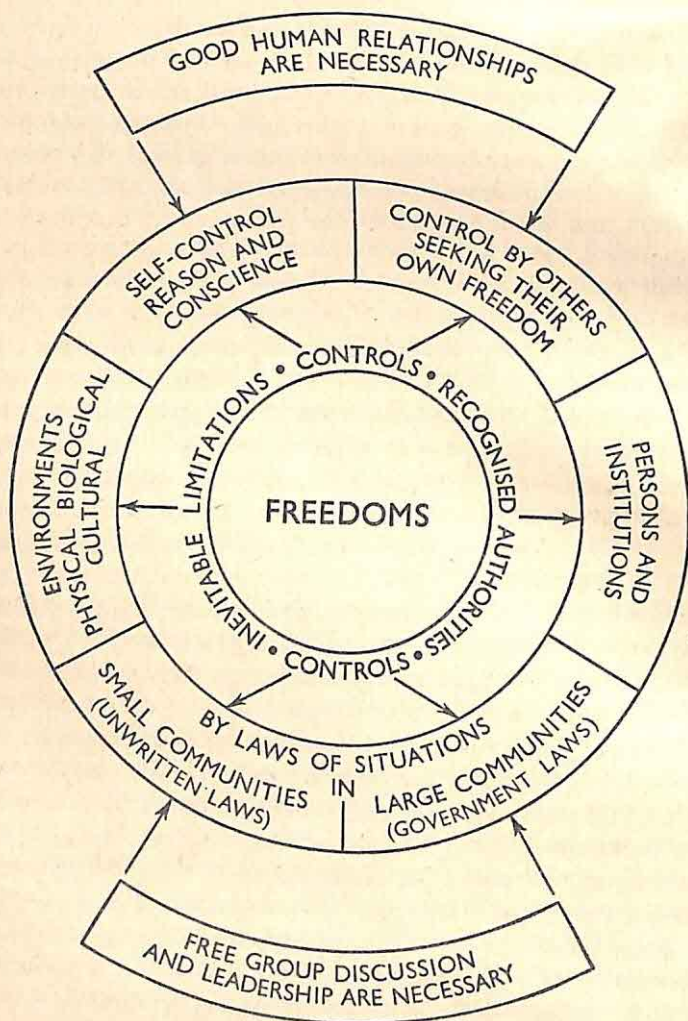
The exercise of freedoms and the submission to authorities of many kinds are interdependent. They are necessary to everyone, and yet many people are often either afraid of freedom or rebellious against authority. They have failed to achieve the inner harmony of freedom and authority which is part of the secret of that kind of life that human beings feel is really good to live. It is a regrettable kind of limitation of freedom because, unlike other kinds, it ought not to exist. It is the result of defective education. Some people, owing to lack of opportunities, have never learnt to exercise responsible freedom of choice. Some, owing to unfortunate experiences in early childhood, many of which they have forgotten, are too much afraid of other people to be themselves. Some, having been subjected to tyranny, are either rebellious against authority of any kind or have become timid conformists. Some, haunted by inner feelings of guilt, seek the comfort of protection rather than the adventure of freedom. Some, having a doctrinaire idea of freedom as the right in all circumstances to do as they please, are slaves to sub-human impulses and continually in conflict with genuine authority. Some, being in too great a hurry both to achieve personal freedom and to give it to others, have overlooked the fact that education in freedom, just like education in mathematics, music, literature or any subject of the curriculum, is a slow process; it requires innumerable experiences

both of free activities of many kinds and of obedience to genuine authority of many kinds.

The five lessons we have learnt about the nature of freedom have many applications in the field of education which, as we have already suggested, is very large, being life-long and life-wide. To give a few more examples, they are applicable to the freedom of parents and children living in families, of teachers in their relationships with head teachers, inspectors, administrators and their employers (governors or local education authorities), to the way in which personal authority is exercised by all who are in supervisory positions, to the freedom of the providers of books, comics, films and radio programmes for children, to the freedom of teachers and pupils in classrooms.

Each classroom situation is unique. Children and teachers, by reason of differences of upbringing, abilities and temperament vary very much in their capacity for freedom; classroom conditions, the size of the class, the age of the pupils, the tone of the school—all must be taken into account. The diverse problems of freedom in classrooms cannot be solved merely by adopting a slogan.

People vary very much in their evaluations of freedom and authority respectively. We believe that positive freedom—freedom to create truth, beauty and goodness—is one of the essentials of human life, one of the essential human values, and that submission to genuine authority is the means to achieving it. People who are obsessed with the importance of authority and the dangers of freedom have lost sight of the fact that authority is a framework of little value in itself. It is like a picture frame which is valuable only if it enhances appreciation of the picture; authority is valuable only if it enhances appreciation of real freedom. Worshipers of authority are immature; they are like the very young boy who, on his first visit to an art gallery, made no comment on the pictures but suddenly exclaimed, 'Nice frames, aren't they?'



SUMMARY

The following are five important lessons about the nature of freedom:

1. *The achievement of freedoms of various kinds is of vital importance to human beings.* It is in a sense the ultimate aim of all education. We must not therefore allow ourselves to be deflected by reactionary authoritarians—people who mistake tyranny for authority and who are more interested in the development of their own power than of other people's freedom. Teachers can do much to educate boys and girls so that when they grow up they will be neither afraid of freedom nor unable to use it wisely.

2. *Freedoms can be achieved only within a framework of controls, limitations or authorities of many kinds:*

(a) external limitations imposed by the physical, biological and cultural environments; by laws—in large communities the laws of situations revealed by debates in councils and parliaments, and in small communities the laws of situations revealed by group discussions; limitations imposed by other individuals pursuing their own freedom; authority exercised by other individuals who are so superior in knowledge, insight, skill or character that they are recognized as authorities in their special subjects; and authority exercised by recognized institutions:

(b) inner limitations imposed by the higher—the rational and moral—sides of man's nature and expressed as self-control.

3. *The achievement of many kinds of freedom where the conflicting interests of people are concerned needs a basis of good human relationships.*

4. *Freedoms are attained and sustained by the willing acceptance of various forms of genuine authority.*

5. *Discussion guided by wise leadership in an atmosphere of freedom is necessary for the creation of acceptable forms of genuine authority such as the authorities of law and truth.*

Recent trends towards a freer atmosphere in schools have a

double value: they give children experiences of freedom, and they give teachers opportunities of helping children to recognize various forms of genuine authority. We should therefore be on our guard against retaining unnecessary restrictions on freedom which became traditional when classes were much larger than they are today but which are now unreasonable. It is nevertheless encouraging to reflect how much progress has been made. There was a time when teachers were forced by circumstances to rule by the cane and continual prohibitions, and when, as Ballard says in his book, *The Changing School*, a teacher might have commanded, 'Don't breathe', if there had been any chance of his being obeyed.

In our very right reaction against oppressive rules and cramping methods we should not however lose sight of the whole nature of freedom. It is obviously not a gift that we can bestow on children merely by leaving them to do as they like. If we try to do that we shall produce, not free but anxious and bewildered children. Freedom is something in which and for which we have to educate children. We must give them opportunities for creative work, for exercising choice and for taking responsibility, and in the process we must give them opportunities for willingly submitting to reasonable authority, for deferring cheerfully to others and for resolutely exercising self-control. They will, of course, make mistakes but that is the only way to learn to be free; it is at the same time the only way to learn the value of submitting to authority.

It should now be clear that modern trends in education are soundly based. The creation of a school environment conducive to free, orderly activity; the provision of opportunities for individual creative work in art, movement and writing, for group creative work calling for free discussion and co-operation in games, drama and projects of many kinds; the provision of opportunities for the exercise of free, responsible choice—all this is education in freedom.

Modern methods do not involve any abdication of the role of the teacher; on the contrary they make the necessity of teaching clearer than it used to be, for with such methods it is not the teacher only who sees the necessity but the children also. By exercising freedom children learn the need for authority; by submitting to authority they learn how to increase their freedom. A wise integration of freedom and authority is the surest way of helping children to increase their skill and knowledge and to improve their characters, and in the last analysis it is skill, knowledge and character that sets them free.

Education in freedom is more fundamentally important than freedom in education. It is the kind of education that we all need whether as members of a family or a school, as members of a profession, as citizens, as legislators, or as members of the world community that is struggling to be born. It cannot begin too early in life, for if, during the formative periods of infancy, childhood and adolescence, prevailing experiences are those of coercion rather than freedom, or if prevailing experiences are those of neglect rather than authority, children may grow up incapable of being free. In the present stage of the development of society such persons are a menace.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION,
CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

The Fear of Freedom, E. Fromm (Kegan Paul, 1942); *Freedom in the Educative Society*, Sir Fred Clarke (Univ. London Press, 1948); *Conditions of Freedom*, John Macmurray (Faber, 1949); *Friedrich Froebel*, ed. G. Evelyn Lawrence (Univ. London Press, 1952); *Freedom and Authority in Education*, G. H. Bantock (Faber, 1952); *Freedom: A New Analysis*, M. Cranston (Longmans, 1953).

Discussion Topics. 1. *Varieties of freedom.* 'Material achievements, while necessary, do not meet the higher needs of mankind. Man needs the higher freedoms, freedom to know, to debate freely, to write and express his views . . . the freedom that law and justice guarantee to every individual . . .

the freedom to travel and to learn from other peoples and cultures . . . freedom of worship. These are the most precious aspects of our civilization.' R. M. Nixon, Vice-President of the United States, in a speech in London, 26 November 1958.

2. *Freedom and responsibility.* 'It is the responsible exercise of deliberate choice which most fully expresses personality and best deserves the great name of freedom.' William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order*.

'Liberty is the recognition of the dignity of the human personality, of man as something more than an animal to be fed and housed and provided with social services, as a spiritual being who must make his own choice between good and evil and who grows in stature and worth by that choice rightly made.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education and the Spirit of the Age*.

'The essence of freedom is responsible choice. Freedom is not so much a right as a duty. . . . Freedom is not only possible, it is inevitable on the basis of the belief that every single human being has to choose between good and evil.' P. F. Drucker, *The Future of Industrial Man*.

'The fact is, nothing creates a sense of responsibility so readily as giving a person responsibility to bear, and nothing invites irresponsible behaviour like removing all responsibility.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

'Dignity, freedom and responsibility are inseparably bound together. Without freedom we have no dignity. Without responsibility we have no freedom. . . . Freedom is the defining character of human existence. Our capacity for freedom makes us persons. . . . Freedom is our nature. But our nature lies always beyond us, and has to be intended and achieved. The obstacle lies in our fear, and the craving for security which expresses it.' John Macmurray, *Conditions of Freedom*.

'Unless the members of the industrial system are given the social status and function which they lack today, our society will disintegrate. The masses will not revolt; they will sink into lethargy; they will flee the responsibility of freedom, which without social meaning is nothing but a threat and a burden.' P. F. Drucker, *op. cit.*

3. *Freedom and morality.* 'Significantly, in their origin, the words "ethics" and "morals" are equivalent to habits and customs; and firm social habits, since they are the very basis of orderly and calculable behaviour, are fundamental to all higher forms of development. While we may rise above our habits and freedom, we must never sink below them into random caprice. . . . The habitual, the traditional, the conservatively moral, are necessary starting points for the proper conduct of life; but they do not in themselves guarantee man's development.' Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

'A society or a nation that is to survive must feel that it is aiming at

something more than its own survival and something more than the survival of the race. It must accept its moral standards as valuable in themselves; and the only standards that can be accepted in this way are those that are sanctioned by generations of experience. If these traditional standards are accepted as human approximations to an inaccessible truth, if they are felt to impose an absolute obligation that derives from a higher source than our own animal needs, there can be, in one sense, no success, for they can never be attained; in another, there need be no failure, for to aim at them and work for them even in the face of material failure is itself a success on a different level.' Michael Roberts, *The Recovery of the West*.

4. *Freedom and justice*. 'Justice is the eternal liberty of each limited by the liberty of others.' Immanuel Kant.

5. *Freedom and law*. 'St. Thomas Aquinas carefully distinguishes between four kinds of law:

- (1) *The Eternal Law*, by which God rules the Universe.
- (2) *The Natural Law*, which is "the rational creature's participation in the Eternal Law."
- (3) *The Divine Law*, which is the Law of God contained in the Old and New Testaments.
- (4) *The Human Law*, which is "a dictate of practical reason emanating from the ruler (whether prince or legislative assembly) who governs a perfect community." R. A. L. Smith, *The Catholic Church and Social Order*.

'What kinds of conduct are so contrary to the public good that the law ought to intervene in its function as the guardian of the public good?' R. A. Butler, Home Secretary, in a speech in the House of Commons, 26 November, 1958. (It is interesting to reflect what a small part government law plays in regulating the seven deadly sins: pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, sloth. Many decisions on what is morally right and wrong are the responsibility of individuals fortified by conscience and public opinion—increasingly so, as people grow up in a school or national society that is democratic. The dividing lines between the kinds of conduct that should be regulated by law, public opinion and individual conscience respectively, are sometimes hard to draw.)

6. *Freedom and authority*. 'All life rests essentially on the reconciliation of two opposite states, stability and change, security and adventure, necessity and freedom; for without regularity and continuity there would not be enough constancy in any process to enable one to recognize change itself, still less to identify it as good or bad, as life-promoting or life-

destroying. The fixed structure of determined events—as Melville beautifully put it in the mat-weaving chapter in *Moby Dick*—is the warp on which the shuttle of free will weaves the threads of different colours and thicknesses which form the texture and pattern of life.' Lewis Mumford, *op. cit.*

'With some of the newer journalists, there is the flat assumption that the lowest level of response and interest only is *de rigueur*. . . . These are the back-scratchers for "the common man" . . . who smooth over faulty argument and blunt thought by hearty evasion and calls to ridicule. They must, by deriding any kind of authority wherever they find it, appeal to and calm any submerged sense of inferiority and disquiet.' R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*.

'Nothing is going to be easy if the free society is to endure. Men will have to learn, by bitter experience if nothing else will serve, that the free society has ceased to be the free and easy society. . . . If the discipline of conscience is really beyond the capacity of its members, there is no future for the free society: it must decay.' J. Middleton Murry, *The Free Society*.

'Freedom and organization are often spoken of as opposites. But in fact the one is the complement of the other, and the human organism can develop itself only by helping to develop the human community. Paradoxical as it may appear to the nineteenth century liberal, you cannot have freedom unless you organize for it.' L. J. Barnes, *The Outlook for Youth Work*.

'The old anarchist doctrine that authority ultimately withers away as society grows up, is wrong. . . . It is raised to a higher order of power with each advance towards self-responsibility of those below it.' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

7. *Freedom of the will*. 'The determinist argues that responsibility implies determination by something in the agent and so by his character; the indeterminist argues that on the determinist view a man cannot be free or responsible because his character is ultimately determined not by himself but by his ancestors or by God. Suppose we accept both arguments: then we arrive at the conclusion that a man's acts are determined by his character (together with his circumstances), but that the man's character is not completely determined by anything, each man being in some degree a genuine new beginning. In that case we seem to escape both the indeterminist and the worst determinist difficulty about responsibility. We can then hold that a man's actions follow from his character without thereby making them ultimately the product of something other than the man himself. Only we must not think of character as a set of qualities over and

above the actions and states of mind in which it finds expression but rather as just a set of laws governing the latter.' A. C. Ewing, *The Fundamental Questions of Philosophy*.

'The more closely and conscientiously we seek to explain it (freedom) by the ordinary categories of any special science the more plain it becomes that so regarded it is a miracle, indeed the miracle of miracles. Psychology cannot explain how it is possible that an individual can consciously mean or intend something.' G. F. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*.

8. *The problem of evil*. 'If a man is to be a moral being, he must have freedom. . . . But in so far as man has undetermined freedom, there can from the nature of the case be no guarantee against his abusing the freedom. . . . God could not therefore prevent men from sinning without taking away their freedom and thus destroying most of what is of value in them. . . . (But) there are many evils which cannot be traced to the abuse of human free-will. . . . We must therefore fall back on the supposition that the actual occurrence of certain evils and not merely their possibility is justified because it is necessary for the production of good . . . there are many kinds of good, including some, perhaps all, of the highest we know, which could not be attained without the occurrence of evil. How could there be moral good without temptation and obstacles and therefore without some evil, at least in the form of pain and thwarting? . . . How could there be love of the highest kind we know if there were never the slightest occasion for sympathy and self-sacrifice?' A. C. Ewing, *op. cit.*

9. *The heritage of freedom*. 'We require, at times when we are distracted by special difficulties or when things are going too easily for our good, to be reminded of the price that our fathers had to pay for the freedom that we enjoy, and of the duty we owe to our children for its preservation and its increase.' John Macmurray, *op. cit.*

'In the 500 years since Leonardo, two ideas about man have been especially important . . . the emphasis on the full development of the human personality . . . the idea of freedom. We see in fact that human fulfillment is unattainable without freedom so that these two main ideas are linked together. . . . What is true of individuals is true of human groups. A state or a society cannot change unless its members are given freedom to judge, to criticize, and to search for a new status for themselves. . . . The great creative ages have tended to be those in which reasoned dissent was welcome,' J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, *The Western Intellectual Tradition*.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

IN previous chapters we have tried to make clear the real significance of the words 'persons' and 'personal', 'human beings' and 'human'. Using the words in their full sense of signifying that people transcend things, machines and animals, we have emphasized the importance of personal or human relationships. Here and there we have followed common usage and written of good personal and good human relationships. But once the full meaning of the words 'personal' and 'human' has been grasped, the epithet 'good' is seen to be tautological because relationships that are personal or human are by definition good. The word 'relationship' is important too, for it reminds us that two people are concerned. If they are in personal relationship each treats the other as a person, and there is a two-way flow of good feeling. Personal relationships are mutual—good not only for one but for both. They are not one-sided; ideally they are not even lop-sided. They imply a state of complete mutuality of the kind that is reached in the relationship of two intimate friends who are, as we say, in communion. When we say that relationships between people are not good, we are really saying that they fall short of being personal or human. Such relationships may take many forms: at one end of the scale they may be inhuman, at the other end merely impersonal.

We have already found it necessary to refer to personal relationships many times. Such frequent references are inevitable because personal relationships are at the root of all

successful living in groups. They help to transform groups into communities and they are necessary to the working of democracy. They are the fount from which moral goodness flows. They are one of the conditions essential to the achievement of freedom. They help people to grow into persons for whom life is satisfying and worth while rather than boring, frustrating and menacing: they are one of the foundations of the good life—a life that is good to live.

Perhaps the chief obstacle to the attainment of personal relationships is the common human failing of being self-centred. We have already noted how easy it is to claim the status and dignity of persons for ourselves, and how difficult it is to accord the same status and dignity to others despite the fact that this step follows logically from the claim we make for ourselves. Another symptom of self-centredness is the common tendency of expecting other people to be like ourselves or like the people we admire. The plaintive cry, 'Why can't a woman be more like a man?' (from *My Fair Lady*) gives a good example. Women are perhaps less assertive and they content themselves with amused, slightly contemptuous exclamations: 'Just like a man!' We may not often say, 'Why can't children be like grown-ups?' 'Why can't my mother-in-law be like my mother?' 'Why can't foreigners be like us?' but it is easy to adopt such self-centred attitudes. We should be on our guard. It is possible that we are really thinking 'Why can't everybody be like me?' and that we use other similes to cover up 'like me' that we know would invite ridicule and make us feel ashamed. The ability to see ourselves as we really are and to laugh at ourselves is a great help in the cultivation of personal relationships.

The Importance of Personal Relationships

Relationships between people have always been a topic of popular interest. Journalists, keenly aware of their news value, never fail to exploit what they call 'the human interest' of their

stories. Relationships are also one of the chief sources of interest in many forms of literature, for example, in folklore, novels and drama.

But the systematic, purposeful study of relationships between people is a comparatively new topic. It does not, for example, appear in the indexes of books on education written twenty years ago. In the past we have for the most part taken the topic for granted; and with some justification for we can take pride in the fact that the general attitude of British people is one that recognizes the value of making relationships as personal as possible. There is however no ground for complacency. We have only to think of the kind of relationships that were common in families, schools, mines and factories in Victorian times; and coming to modern times, the revelation that the relationships between people with skins of different colours can be inhuman close at home is profoundly disturbing.

The problem of personal relationships is fundamentally a moral one, but today it is clear that it is also a problem closely concerned with efficiency. The growth of large units is one reason. In a large comprehensive school, for example, especially if it contains both boys and girls and pupils with widely different cultural backgrounds, interests and abilities, arrangements for promoting personal relationships cannot be left to chance; if they were, efficiency, as well as social well-being, would suffer, especially among the most and the least able. In business, the economic need of increased productivity has led to the growth of large units, and the two factors together, size and productivity, have forced industrialists to make a special, explicit study of relationships between people working on the factory floor, and between 'workers' and all who are in supervisory positions. There is now a large literature, chiefly American, on the topic.

A parallel development has been a shift of emphasis in psychology. It is now recognized that the study of individuals

in isolation, for example, by means of examinations and mental tests, must be supplemented by the study of individuals in groups where they are influenced by a network of tensions in a psychological field of their own making. (The analogy of the lines of force in a magnetic field may be helpful but like all analogies it is very imperfect.) It is clear that in order to understand human beings the study of individual psychology must be combined with a study of social psychology, sociology and social anthropology.

The importance of relationships between people is evident in all departments of life—in education and business as we have seen, but also in politics. In the world today relationships are awry; they have probably always been so, but whether they are worse than they have ever been before we do not know. It may be that the present discontents have always existed and that what we are now witnessing is not a new breakdown in relationships but rather a vocal expression of discontents formerly suffered in comparative silence by individual persons and nations; the inventions of printing, the cinema and radio, and the spread of popular education, have helped to break down this silence. Improvements in the means of communication and developments in mass propaganda have led to a heightened consciousness of seemingly unjust inequalities between individuals and between nations. At the same time the influence of some kinds of authority that were formerly taken for granted—of religious belief and some forms of traditional morality—has been reduced. The result of all these and other factors is a comparatively uncontrolled boiling-up of emotion in many places.

An analogy may help to make the process clear. Look at a glass of water. Though the water is apparently at rest we know that in fact it is composed of molecules in very rapid, though controlled, motion. The motion is controlled by atmospheric pressure, and if this pressure were sufficiently reduced, the

motion would increase and we should see the water boil even though it remained cold. Another way of increasing the motion of the molecules, of making the water boil, is by applying heat and raising its temperature.

Reduction of pressure—of the influence of authority; increase of temperature—of resentment against real or imagined injustices: both factors are operating in the sphere of relationships between people and nations. The results are all too often destructive. Need they be so? It is always risky to argue by analogy but we may perhaps usefully press our analogy a little further. The energy of boiling water can be destructive, but scientists and engineers have discovered how to regulate and harness it, how to change it into electrical energy; and in these ways they make it serve many useful purposes. They are now tackling much more difficult problems: those of releasing, regulating and harnessing the enormous stores of energy hitherto locked up in atoms. Modern science, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, 'is standing tip-toe ready to open the doors of a golden age'. But the doors of a golden age are double doors. One, the door of material plenty, tends to absorb the attention of scientists, politicians and the man in the street; the other, the door of spiritual well-being, tends to attract less attention than it deserves. The problem of opening the second door is extremely urgent, and it needs the concerted efforts of many people—social scientists and a great variety of non-scientists too numerous to mention. It is very largely the problem of regulating and harnessing the emotion that persons and nations feel in their dealings with one another.

The fact that so much emotion is boiling up and uncontrolled is sad and regrettable but not wholly deplorable. The present *malaise* is not all due to greedy and envious craving for power and material wealth; poverty, oppression and fear are also contributory factors. Many people are no doubt excitedly aware of the door of material plenty, but many are also at least

dimly aware of the door of spiritual well-being beyond which lies a golden age of many freedoms other than freedom from want. However, far too many people, ignorant of the real nature of the doors of a golden age, are hurting themselves and others by noisily banging on them. But rebelliousness is not the only or perhaps the most dangerous evil; apathy, because it works insidiously and silently, may be worse—a kind of slow-acting poison. If man can acquire the necessary wisdom in time, it is possible that, out of the present turmoil, the lives of individuals and nations may rise to new heights that could never have been realized, so long as their relationships were befogged by ignorance and apathy.

In our very natural preoccupation with necessary administrative machinery—with such things as defence pacts, security councils and summit conferences in the sphere of politics; time-tables, examination arrangements, schemes for reorganizing schools in the sphere of education—we are apt to overlook the fact that many of the most urgent problems in the world and in school are fundamentally problems of relationships between one individual and another, and they cannot be solved even by first-class administrative machinery. It is a simple idea, but to quote Sir Winston Churchill again, 'All the greatest things in the world are simple; many of them can be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honour, duty, mercy, hope.' All these values depend on relationships between people, that is on how we feel towards one another. Many of these feelings spring from sources of which we are not fully conscious, and that is one reason why simple, desirable values are often difficult to achieve. Whatever their origin, our feelings towards people are the foundation of our attitudes towards them; they determine to a large extent how we think about them, how we behave in our dealings with them, what we expect from them in their dealings with us, and how we react to them. Our feelings towards people often determine whether we act wisely, for

example, whether we give their opinions a fair hearing and balanced consideration.

A Scale of Personal Relationships

Relationships can be good, neutral or bad; they can be mutual or lop-sided; they can be relationships in opposition, as when love is met with hatred or indifference, friendship with hostility. If relationships are good they are mutually personal. At the lowest personal level we feel humanely tolerant of one another; at a higher level we respect one another; higher still we feel friendly, and at the highest level, loving. If relationships are neutral they are impersonal, and we feel mutually indifferent. They cannot, however, be permanently neutral for no one can for long bear to be ignored or treated as of no account. Indifference between people who are in communication, as today we all are more or less, is a state of unstable equilibrium. Impersonal relationships inevitably break down sooner or later and the most frequent result is the creation of relationships that are bad. If they are bad they are sub-personal and they may be so bad as to be inhuman; they may range from mild hostility to insensate hatred. Personal relationships breed confidence and co-operation: people in a group are drawn together; they feel they belong to one another and the group becomes a community in which dominance-submission relationships and cut-throat competition are unknown. Impersonal relationships breed apathy or rebelliousness. Inhuman relationships breed cringing submission and fear on the one hand, cruelty and the intoxication of power on the other.

This scale of relationships, ranging from love to fear and hatred, through friendliness, respect, tolerance, indifference, apathy and hostility, is very much over-simplified. There are many other shades of feeling, and they all shade off one into the other. Furthermore our relationships with people in real life are compounded of various elements, and they are subject to

many variations in changing situations. Thus, for example, we talk of loving friendships, of friendly or tolerant respect; and when we say that our relationship with someone is one of close friendship, we do not mean that this feeling is continuous or steady in intensity; it is the feeling that in varying degrees most often prevails between us. When we say that the relationship between a teacher and his class is friendly, we mean that friendliness is the prevailing kind of relationship between him and most of his pupils; we know that there must be occasions when it is difficult to maintain even feelings of one-sided tolerance.

Relationships with Unlovable Persons

A relationship of mutual love is clearly an ideal difficult to attain, and still more difficult to maintain consistently in all the awkward situations of ordinary life. Unless we are saints, dealing with saints, our relationships must in practice often fall short. A lively appreciation of the ideal can, however, give us a consistent underlying attitude towards people and help to keep us from falling too far. One of our problems, as Sir John Maud has reminded us, is to love the most unlovable pupil, the most difficult parent, and the most odious colleague.

Loving the unlovable is by no means a simple one-sided process. To begin with, the unlovable may have a very definite antagonistic attitude to us—often largely irrational though it may have some justification of which we are not conscious. However that may be, to many unlovables we also are unlovables. They are unable to love us, and still more serious, to receive love from us. This tangle can be unravelled only by a process which we must set in motion by loving the unlovable. Here are its elements: we give love; the unlovable is loved; he rejects love; we give more; he receives love at first suspiciously; finally he returns it. If this happens, two mutually unlovables have become two mutually lovable. There is no higher reward

than that of the loyal, friendly allegiance of an enemy who has been won over by love, by treating him as a person. Many a headmaster has had such an experience with an awkward parent or member of staff, and many a teacher with a difficult pupil.

We have written in terms of love, the highest form of personal relationships, because the revolutionary changes in personality that are needed can only be started by love. In practice, however, love must often remain an underlying attitude unrecognized by the unlovable. In many situations it is obviously as impossible as it is inadvisable to try to put love explicitly into practice. We must often approach the unlovable on the lower levels of tolerance, respect and friendliness. Tolerance of persons is often a necessary first step towards the ideal of evoking mutual relationships on higher levels. Good feelings cannot, however, always be produced even on a foundation of tolerance. In such a situation it is sometimes possible to behave as if mutual good feeling already existed. If our actions spring from a sincere attitude of love for people, we may reasonably hope that in time they will start a flow of mutual good feeling, for it is well known that appropriate actions tend to produce corresponding feelings. To give a simple, familiar, negative example, if in the company of others we run away on seeing something apparently sinister in the dark, we induce a feeling of fear in ourselves and perhaps also in our companions.

Our approach to unlovables should be made not as an act of condescension, but as an act which we humbly recognize to be the best approximation we can make in the circumstances to what the ideal of love demands. The most we can do is to weigh in the claims of love with all the other claims of the moment, for example: our time, the probable immediate reaction of the unlovable, the need to be just to others. In this way we make a sincere effort to find LOTS, the law of the total situation. This law need never demand that we fall lower than being tolerant towards a person, although it will often demand that we act

with firmness towards him. It will, however, sometimes demand that we draw a distinction between being tolerant of a person and being tolerant of his behaviour; there are some kinds of intolerable behaviour that may call for stern punishment. The art of cultivating personal relationships is obviously very complicated and it often calls for endless patience. But no art is of greater value.

Relationships with Unknown Persons

The problem of personal relationships between people who meet face to face is very different from the problem of relationships between people who do not know one another personally. To take the most extreme example, it is often said that we should love mankind. But as Professor Butterfield has said in his book *History and Human Relations*, 'A dangerous conjuring trick is liable to be involved if we turn "Love your neighbour" into "Love mankind", for it is easy to love the collective noun rather than people.' Our relationships with people in large remote groups are apt to be merely formal, resting on words rather than being founded on sympathetic understanding derived from knowledge and experience of individuals as persons. Our relationships may be determined by fixed ways of feeling and thinking that spring from beliefs, called stereotypes, for which there is no warrant: we attach to groups a brand label with which derogatory emotions and ideas are associated in our minds. 'I don't like the—,' we say, and we then behave without reflection as if all members of the group—Jew, Gentile, Black, Yellow—possessed only undesirable characteristics.

It is obviously important to think carefully about our relationships with people who are strange or remote—people whose cultures are different, and consequently some of their customs and habits are perhaps so strange that they appear to us to be repulsive; people who live far away; people whose religious beliefs appear to us to be perverse; people whose skins are of a

different colour; people whom we know very imperfectly as members of large groups or only as casual acquaintances. They are all persons, and our relationships with them should therefore be personal: relationships ideally and potentially of friendship and love, realistically and actually of tolerance and respect. But thinking of this kind, even if it rests on nothing higher than tolerance, can be very hollow unless we have actual and varied experience of people very different from ourselves, and of how prone we are in such circumstances to irrational fear and prejudice. For example, people living in countries with no racial problems find it easy to criticize race relations in other countries, and it comes as a shock when they discover that some of their own countrymen and perhaps they themselves are by no means immune to racial prejudice. In Britain we now pride ourselves on a culture in which personal relationships are valued highly, but irrational prejudice of various kinds—class, colour, intellectual, religious—is by no means absent.

The problem of personal relationships concerns everyone, and in some respects adults may have more to learn than children—perhaps they have more to re-learn: colour prejudice, for example, seems to be quite unknown among very young children. Education in personal relationships, like all kinds of education, is rooted in experience. We must learn to love our neighbours in all their great variety before we can get any understanding of what it means to love mankind.

Personal Relationships in School

Children have much experience of good, neutral, and bad relationships in their life outside school. Even in present very imperfect national societies the bias is for most children on the side of the good; this is a result of parents' instinctive, protective kindness and of its reflection, with variations in details, in national cultures. Our problem in school is to strengthen this bias. To this end we have four duties: (a) to see to it that chil-

dren's prevailing experiences are of good relationships, both their own and their vicarious experiences as they see relationships in action among the people around them; (b) to teach children how it has come about that tolerance rather than inhumanity is valued in the national way of life, and by this means help them to build up an attitude of thankfulness to great men and women of the past, and deepen their appreciation and valuation of the general social climate into which they have been born; (c) to give them some knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the ways of life of people of other nationalities, and by this means reinforce and generalize the lessons of tolerance and respect which they learn from their own prevailing experiences; (d) to introduce them, in lessons on religion, literature, art and music, to the ideas and work of men and women who have been gifted with exceptional insight into the real nature of human beings, and by this means increase their sensitivity to the essential personal quality in themselves and in other people, even those they do not like or do not know personally.

There is nothing very new in these suggestions. We are reiterating the statement often made that both school life and the school curriculum are important means of educating young people. It is helpful, however, to consider school life and the curriculum not only in a general way but also from special angles. Often, perhaps too often, we have to consider them from the special angle of examinations and preparation for earning a living. But there are other ingredients in the good life besides good wages and salaries. We have therefore asked ourselves in previous chapters how education in school can deepen appreciation of the supreme human values, how it can help people to see what is real in life, how it can underpin the democratic way of life, and help to bring up people able and willing to give and accept leadership and to use freedom wisely. From all these angles we have caught glimpses of the fundamental

importance of personal relationships. They are so important that it is worth while giving special consideration to the part that education can play in promoting them.

In school life there is a complicated web of relationships: (a) staff relationships—between individual members of the staff (teaching and non-teaching) and between the head and members of his staff; (b) relationships between the staff and other adults of whom the most important are parents, employers and governors; (c) relationships between teachers and pupils on informal occasions and in the 'give and take' of class teaching as well as of 'activity' methods; (d) pupil-pupil relationships of which we have little knowledge although very occasionally they may be revealed in an animated discussion which we are privileged to overhear.

Personal Relationships and Community Spirit

As we have noted, personal relationships tend to bind people together in communities. The problem of ensuring that the prevailing relationships in a school are personal can therefore be looked upon as that of converting schools into communities. As we try to introduce into school life the seven characteristics of community life which we enumerated on pp. 118-20 we are brought face to face with many practical questions of which the following are a few examples:

1. *Respect for persons*

How can every individual, for example, the shy newly-joined member of staff, the slow learner, the timid person, the apologetic school cleaner, be helped to feel that he or she is a person who matters in the community?

2. *A sense of high purpose over-riding material self-interest*

Do we appeal too often and too emphatically to economic self-interest in talks with parents and children?

How can we build up a school tone so that pupils destined

for work in which the economic rewards are very different respect and appreciate one another? For example, do we by our attitude and incidental teaching help pupils to see that doctors and dustmen, judges and policemen, scientists and laboratory assistants, all serve the community and are worthy of respect and gratitude? Or again, do we ever direct the thoughts of pupils to the community service given by people in dangerous occupations? and by those who work at night while most people are asleep? (For suggestions suitable even for junior pupils see *Tinker, Tailor*, A Heritage Story Book, p. 63, Longmans, 1956.) Do we lay the foundation for this kind of community education by cultivating a 'two-way flow of deference and appreciation' between pupils of very different kinds and degrees of ability?

How can all this be done healthily, avoiding the danger of insincerity and priggishness?

3. *Free responsible participation*

What forms of participation are possible for members of a school community—that is, for teaching and non-teaching staff, pupils, parents and governors? For example: What help can parents reasonably give to a school? Do they participate in framing policy on such matters as school uniform? If a school caretaker played a musical instrument well would he be invited to join the school orchestra? What part does discussion with pupils play in policy-making, in the study of curriculum subjects and in joint consideration of current affairs of special interest to pupils, such as television and cinema programmes and the latest fashions in dance music and dancing? Is a reasonable balance kept between individual work, group and class teaching? Does the class teaching encourage group discussion? What importance is attached to staff conferences?

4. *Diversity among members*

Who else besides teachers and pupils are recognized mem-

bers of the school community? Is diversity of sincere opinion welcomed? Are opportunities given to members to use any exceptional gifts or knowledge they may possess? Is a spirit of reasonable tolerance cultivated towards forms of diversity that are inconvenient? Are all teachers—of academic and practical subjects, of backward and advanced pupils—accepted as full members of the community?

5. *Readiness for change*

Are new ideas from teachers and pupils welcomed as subjects for discussion and possibly for experiment?

Do persons in authority appreciate the need for consultation and discussion before introducing important changes?

6. *Appreciation of leadership*

Which attitude predominates in the conduct of the school or class—leadership or authority?

Are heads of departments given full scope for leadership in their special subjects?

Is an attempt made to spread opportunities for giving leadership as widely as possible? Among the pupils are such opportunities confined to the obvious leaders among those in the 16–18 age group?

7. *Respect for authority*

Are the persons in authority—the head master in his school, the teacher in his classroom, the prefect and the school caretaker performing their allotted duties—authoritarians interested in power, or persons of authority interested in people?

Are the conduct and tone of the school such that even unpalatable decisions made by persons in authority are accepted, at least for the time being, with good grace?

What attempts are made to teach the lesson that people have authority by virtue of their special knowledge and skill rather than by virtue of their position? For example: Are teachers with specialist qualifications given opportunities for acting as

authoritative consultants to their general-practitioner colleagues? Are outside authorities, such as the policeman specialist in road safety, invited to share in classroom instruction?

Do the adults in the community set children a good example of respectful deference, free from any taint of obsequiousness, to authority?

Are older pupils introduced to authoritative books of reference and helped to understand why their authors are authorities?

Education in Tolerance

The experiences of life in a school community in which personal relationships prevail can do something, especially if the co-operation of parents can be obtained, to counteract the evil influences of bad relationships outside. They also produce a social climate inside the school favourable to the teaching and learning of tolerance and respect for people who are remote, strange and outside the range of direct personal contacts. Mere knowledge of these people is not enough; so much depends on the kind of social climate in which it is acquired. If it is always acquired under compulsion—merely to gain marks or to pass examinations—it may remain dead, and do little or nothing to kindle sympathetic imagination. Any attempt to use knowledge to teach the value of national and international goodwill and tolerance will misfire if teachers' exhortations run counter to the pupils' own experiences of prevailing relationships at home and school; at best the pupils remain indifferent. In a community atmosphere, on the other hand, pupils are ready to relate knowledge about other people to their own experiences, and when they do so, it is more likely to strike notes of sympathy than of antagonism. A chord of understanding dispels the silence of indifference; and if we ourselves are seized of the importance of personal relationships in the world it becomes possible to talk to pupils about people in other times and places in an inspiring and sympathetic way so that they will at least

catch something of our attitude. In these conditions—(a) teachers and pupils working in a community atmosphere where the prevailing relationships are personal; (b) teachers inspired by the vision of life in the outside world also pervaded by the same kind of atmosphere and relationships—lessons in every subject of the curriculum can do something to help pupils to feel that they belong to the noble community of humanity.

The importance of the teacher's vision cannot be over-estimated. It determines how he looks at the curriculum; it influences his choice of subject matter, the emphasis he puts on special topics, and even his methods of teaching. It colours his attitudes and these help to determine the kind of relationships he establishes with others—with people of different race and colour in the world, with pupils of different home cultures, aptitudes and abilities in school. These attitudes shine through his work in countless small ways, and no one can measure the results of their influence; the incidental asides with which a teacher, inspired by an ideal, punctuates his exposition are often vividly remembered when the main theme is half-forgotten.

Like education in freedom, education in personal relationships cannot begin too soon. It is not yet another subject to be added to an over-crowded curriculum, but is best given by seizing the daily opportunities that occur in the practical details of school life, in the study of all curriculum subjects, and in all the extra-curricular activities of secondary schools, such as inter-school games and school societies. To a large extent it must be given incidentally, not because it is trivial, but because it is so important that in most of the activities of life it keeps breaking in. During the last year of school life there is, however, much to be said for drawing together the threads, and making a concentrated study of the all-important topic of life in the modern world, looking at it from various angles such as those we have suggested in this book. The best approach is

through environmental studies beginning with the neighbourhood. With the older and abler pupils this kind of approach would lead in quickly to academic studies. On the topic of personal relationships, and especially tolerance, the course might include studies of religious, philosophic, scientific and historical backgrounds as Polack¹ has suggested. With the less able pupils who leave school at 15 the practical approach would need to be continued for a longer time. Polack has suggested three projects: Getting on with others (a) in the neighbourhood, (b) in the country, (c) in the world. Whatever approach be used, the aim is to provoke free discussion at appropriate levels on current problems involving relationships between people, for example: between people and servants of the public, between people with skins of different colours, between men and women, between groups of nations with different ideologies. Newspapers and television programmes provide relevant 'stories' every day. Although they are not all suitable for explicit use in school, they can keep us all aware of the types of relationship problems for which pupils need to be prepared; they can remind us how important it is to give pupils the necessary relevant background of experience and knowledge together with suitable timely instruction in order to deepen their insights.

We have emphasized the value of a social climate in which the prevailing winds are those of tolerance, respect, friendliness and love. It is already so well established in many schools that it is impossible to visit them without seeing examples of personal relationships in some part of the complicated web we have described (p. 178). It is a heartening experience, when visiting a school that has grown into a community, to observe

¹ *Tolerance, Can it be Taught?* A. I. Polack (The Council of Christians and Jews, 1954). This pamphlet contains suggested syllabuses for one-year courses in human relations suitable for senior forms of (a) grammar schools, (b) secondary modern schools. It also contains a list of books and publications recommended for further study.

how among all the clear examples of relationships—good, bad and indifferent—personal relationships preponderate. More than that, a visitor to such a school is at once aware that he is confidently and fearlessly accepted as a person. In an infants' school a six-year-old takes him by the hand and explains what is going on; in a school for older pupils he is courteously received and guided to the headmaster's room. Personal relationships in a school community spread quite naturally and often spontaneously to include strangers, and the pupils have then taken an important first step on the road towards membership of wider communities and towards international understanding.

The Need for Toughness

In thinking of social climate it is important, however, to keep a sense of proportion. It is wrong and futile to try to shield young people from emotional conflicts and difficulties that are an inevitable and necessary part of the process of growing up. As Wolfenstein¹ says, 'It is just the successful resolution of these conflicts which provides the basis for normal, socially useful, happy, and creative character.' Love is blind. It may blind us to the fact that young people need and want and expect checks and support from adults to help them to control their impulses. If the prevailing wind is a soft south-westerly an occasional nor'-easterly may be very bracing.

A teacher in real life, like the solicitor described in *This Ever Diverse Pair* by D. A. L. Burgeon (Gollancz, 1950), must be a 'diverse pair'. In seeking to promote good personal relationships he must sometimes be aware of the danger to which the solicitor succumbed:

We find he is highly sensitive to the outer surface of the sphere of human fellowship. He loves to be on good terms with everybody. He cannot bear the slightest suggestion of harshness in his

Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, (Univ. Chicago Press, 1955).

personal relationships, even when these are of a casual or superficial nature. . . .

We can conceive of circumstances in which he would readily damage himself, but would not have the firmness to damage another, even though the occasion clearly demanded it—especially if he knew that in doing so he must incur that other's hostility, resentment or reproaches. . . .

Rather than hurt anybody's feelings, and have perhaps to meet an angry or a wounded look, he was prepared to pretend that things were not as they were.

Pretending that things are not as they are leads to appeasement in the pejorative sense of the word ; it is a spurious and dangerous form of tolerance.

We often lose sight of the two-way nature of personal relationships, and especially of the obvious fact that other people, even very young ones, are persons—with their own point of view. It came as a shock to the parent who, having commanded his very young son, 'Don't argue,' received the quick reply, 'Then don't arg me.' A vivid awareness of the fact that the establishment of personal relationships is a two-way process can save us from many mistakes, especially from the folly of trying to be perfectionists. It reminds us that, if we claim the need to be firm, or even tough, with people who seem to us to be immature whatever their age, we ourselves should expect to meet firmness and toughness on occasion. We should therefore beware of becoming over-sensitive—the kind of person whose mission in life is to be admired and who is upset by criticism or even coldness. A protective covering of toughness is very necessary in this imperfect world.

Looking at the two-way process from the other direction, we see that we are entitled in our personal relationships to limit the demands that others make on us, and the demands for giving that we impose on ourselves. More than that, we should not shrink from making demands on others ; it is part of wis-

dom to allow and sometimes to require others to meet us more than half way. In ordinary life, especially in homes and schools, the cultivation of personal relationships does not require any one to become a self-sacrificing martyr.

Having made these common-sense concessions to the demands of the laws of many total situations, we must return to the fundamental importance of an underlying attitude of love towards people and of a habit of tolerance based on knowledge and understanding of them. Such a habit is hard to achieve and, like Abraham in the following story from *The Talmud*, we all need to be reminded of its importance:

An aged man whom Abraham had invited to his tent, refused to join in prayer to the one spiritual God. Learning that he was a fire-worshipper, Abraham drove him from his door. That night God appeared to Abraham in a vision and said, 'I have borne with that ignorant man for seventy years; could you not have patiently suffered him one night?'

SUMMARY

The feelings which people have towards one another—the relationships between them—are generally mixed, and the mixture may be compounded of elements—good, neutral and bad—which shade off into one another. Neutral relationships are particularly unstable.

A rough scale is given in the accompanying diagram.

The establishment of purely personal relationships is a complicated two-way process. Complete mutuality is very difficult to achieve, especially on the higher levels and between people in large groups who may be comparative strangers to one another for cultural, geographical or other reasons.

In difficult situations personal relationships can be established on the basis of tolerance—the kind of tolerance that springs from knowledge and understanding and is inspired by an underlying attitude of love for people.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLE

— LOVE	— GOOD — — NEUTRAL — — BAD —	PERSONAL
— FRIENDLINESS		
— RESPECT		HUMAN
— TOLERANCE		
— INDIFFERENCE		HUMANE
— APATHY		
— HOSTILITY		IMPERSONAL
— FEAR		
— HATRED		SUB-PERSONAL
		INHUMAN

It is a mistake to expect perfection, but it is reasonable to aim at achieving a social climate in which the *prevailing* relationships in a group are personal. Life in the group then becomes marked by the special characteristics of community life. The problem can be seen on many scales—from life in a family to life in a world community.

Schools have a special responsibility for giving pupils the kind of education that will enable them to appreciate the importance and value of personal relationships in all the groups of which they are members. The basis of this education is first-hand experience of personal relationships in all the details of school life. It can then be reinforced and generalized, often incidentally, in the study of all the subjects of the curriculum,

and by relevant experience in extra-curricular activities. Towards the end of school life, this aspect of education might well be consolidated by a short course in personal relationships, with special reference to the need of tolerance.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

The Proper Study of Mankind, An Inquiry into the Science of Human Relations, Stuart Chase (Phoenix House, 1950); *Principles of Human Relations*, N. F. R. Maier (Chapman and Hall, 1952); *Education in Human Relations*, Myer Domnitz (Woburn Press, 1959); *Teaching for International Understanding*, C. F. Strong (H.M.S.O., 1952); *Tolerance, Can it be Taught?* A. I. Polack (The Council of Christians and Jews, 1954); *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*, F. Heider (Chapman and Hall, 1958); *Race, Prejudice and Education*, C. Bibby (Heinemann, 1959).

Discussion Topics. 1. *Importance of personal relationships.* 'In a world charged with all the electric cross-currents of power politics, party propaganda, and materialistic philosophies, . . . an even greater concentration of effort should be devoted to the task of ensuring that the next generation grow up with the ability to form sound, independent and enlightened judgments based on scientific knowledge and fundamental moral concepts. It is too dangerous to leave this to chance. If we cannot solve the problem of human relations, we perish.' A. I. Polack, *Tolerance, Can it be Taught?*

'Many of us in this complicated and exacting age labour under some sense of social frustration or economic stress. We feel that the scales of life are weighted unfairly against us . . . and often, quite unconsciously, we seek a "scapegoat" on which to vent our annoyance and sense of failure.' A. I. Polack, *op. cit.*

'We should never look away from the living, that is, the person, the pupil into whose soul our loving solicitude should strive to gain access in order to help him to create his own world.' Giovanni Gentile, *The Reform of Education*.

'You see, really and truly, apart from the things anyone can pick up (the dressing and the proper way of speaking and so on), the difference between a lady and a flower girl is not how she behaves, but how she's treated.' Eliza Doolittle in *Pygmalion*.

2. *Relationships between groups.* 'The frictions between Catholic and

Protestant, Jew and Gentile, coloured and white, employed and employer, are constant sources of unrest and social tensions. The sources of many of these conflicts, if not all, can be traced to ignorance.' M. Domnitz, *Education in Human Relations*.

'How can we say anything pertinent about the attitudes, motivations and human relationships of coal-miners without a background knowledge of the sort of personality structure that has been developed by the peculiar historical, geographical, social, economic and occupational factors obtaining in a mining community?' L. S. Hearnshaw, quoted by M. Domnitz *op. cit.*

'How can the Gospel story be taught without creating in the minds of the young a deep-seated, but perhaps unconscious, prejudice against modern Jews?' A. I. Polack, *op. cit.*

3. *Machines and persons*. 'Our machines have become gigantic, powerful, self-operating, inimical to truly human standards and purposes: our men, devitalized by this very process, are now dwarfed, paralyzed, impotent. Only by restoring primacy to the person—and the experiences and disciplines that go to the making of persons—can that fatal imbalance be overcome.' Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

'Be clear what it means when a worker can experience even his relation to the machine as one of dialogue, when, for instance, a compositor tells us that he has understood the machine's humming as a merry and grateful smile at me for helping it to set aside the difficulties and obstructions which disturbed and bruised and pained it, so that it can now run free.' M. Buber, *Between Man and Man*.

4. *Signs of a personal attitude*. 'We must not overlook the inferences about other people's attitudes which people base upon such trifles of evidence as the tone of voice, the wording of a request, the length of time they are kept waiting before being admitted, and so forth.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

5. *Personal relationships and authority*. 'Where authority is unavoidable what is needed is *reverence*. A man who is to educate really well, and is to make the young grow and develop into their full stature, must be filled through and through with the spirit of reverence towards others that is lacking in those who advocate machine-made, cast-iron systems.' Bertrand Russell, *Principles of Social Reconstruction*.

6. *Tolerance*. 'Intolerance is obtainable from the bloodstream of regimental sergeant-majors and is found to comprise two chemical elements

namely: (a) the best is scarcely good enough (GG^{nth}) and (b) there is no excuse for anything (NE^{nth}). . . . Intolerance is a drug to be used, therefore, with caution.' C. N. Parkinson, *Parkinson's Law*.

'Tolerance towards the opinions of the young, however crudely and violently they may be expressed, must be combined with a perfectly definite impression that the teacher himself has certain convictions that are to him of supreme and lasting importance.' Lord James, *Education and Leadership*.

'The tolerance of men who have some strength and are prepared, if necessary, to use it, is a meaningful tolerance. . . . Genuine tolerance is a product of vigour, belief, a sense of the difficulty of truth and a respect for others; the new tolerance is weak and unwilling, a fear and resentment of challenge.' R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*.

'It is simple enough to be tolerant on issues which are not believed to be vital. The real test of toleration is our attitude towards people who oppose truths which seem important to us.' R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*.

7. *Humility and arrogance*. 'A virtue isolated from the context of character may turn out to be nothing valuable (as, for instance, humility caused by fear or compensating for suppressed arrogance); or a vice will be viewed in a different light if understood in the context of the whole character (as, for instance, arrogance as an expression of insecurity and self-depreciation).' E. Fromm, *Man for Himself*.

'Snigweed and all the many Snigweeds are efficient, conscientious, well trained. They obtrude their presence on superiors with just that degree of flattery and self-abasement that makes itself felt in a manner most advantageous to the Snigweeds. Their attitude to inferiors is similar to that of a garden roller to the grass beneath it.' Desmond Leslie, *Angels Weep*.

8. *The right degree of toughness*. 'It is better to err on the side of too much formality than too little. Real reciprocity rests, not upon a derogation of dignities, but upon mutual respect, and a confidence based on freedom from fear.' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

'Use your common sense: avoid logic: love your fellow men: have faith in your own people, and grow the hide of a rhinoceros.' Lord Baldwin in a broadcast talk: quoted by G. M. Young, *Stanley Baldwin*.

'Blessed is the man who has a skin of the right thickness: he can work happily in spite of enemies and friends.' Quoted by Sir Graham Balfour *Educational Administration*.

'Christianity teaches us that the climax of human perfection is to love infinitely, to be able to be hated infinitely. This degree of maturity has been

reached perhaps only once in history, in the person of Jesus Christ.' Karl Stern, *The Pillar of Fire*.

9. *Personal relationships and world community*. 'I sometimes think that every touch of helpful neighbourliness in the apartment-house, every wave of warmer comradeship in the lulls and "knock-offs" that occur even in the most perfectly "rationalized" factory, means an addition to the world's community-content.' M. Buber, *Paths in Utopia*.

'To love humanity is not to feel a vague affection for some imaginary human totality. It is to maintain the disposition and the purpose to care for any human being with whom we are brought into relation, in whatever fashion circumstances make possible, and simply on the ground of our common humanity. . . . A universal community would be one in which, in fact, all men are potentially friends. By this is meant that they do in fact care for one another in their actual relations, whatever these may be; that when brought into direct relations they act as friends and enter into fellowship.' John Macmurray, *Conditions of Freedom*.

10. *Friendship and love*. 'Morale cannot be good unless men come to have affection for one another. . . . All men have within them a streak of generosity and unselfishness—a touch of nobility—and these qualities will be brought out in their attitude to their friends. Friendship causes men to give of their best.' Lord Montgomery, *Forward from Victory*.

'Love can best be defined as the capacity for self-transcendence, or the capacity to care for the other.' John Macmurray, op. cit.

'Friendship is essentially a relationship between equals. . . . Personal equality does not ignore the natural differences of capacity. It overrides them. It means that any two human beings, whatever their individual differences, can recognize and treat one another as equal, and so be friends.' John Macmurray, op. cit.

11. *Is this chapter too visionary?* 'Many people think it visionary to try to improve our own lives and relationships. They feel they have closed the whole subject with "You can't change human nature." Well, we haven't changed the nature of the physical universe, but by understanding it we have tuned it in myriad ways to our service and our convenience. . . . So with human nature.' Edwin Embree, quoted by C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*.

'Charity is not a petty-bourgeois sentiment but the gravitational force which keeps civilization in its orbit.' A. Koestler, from *The God that Failed*.

'It's love that makes the world go round. Old sayings have a knack of being both profound and true. This one is. If those in authority . . . wish to

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unleash the full forces of enthusiasm, zeal, self-sacrifice and latent power, it is to men's loves that they must make their appeal.' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

'Collective love . . . is the ultimate destiny.'

'Too, ultimate, too distant,' Levine said sadly; 'too remote to be a destination' at all; . . . What makes you think it will ever be reached?'

Walter smiled and answered: 'Shall we say, for instance, the Hebrew prophets?' From *Through the Valley*, Robert Henriques.

12. *Relationships between men and women.*

'Probably the most unstable element in Communism is that it makes family life take second place to economic productivity.

'Western society, also, has been inclined to weaken the home, partly because women have been encouraged to share the ambitions of men rather than make the most of their all-important role as mothers, and partly because our society, like Communist society, puts economic productivity so high.' *The Observer*, 20 December 1959.

'I wouldn't ask of any man that he should understand me. . . . He should have 'sympathy, tolerance . . . the knowledge, but never spoken, that a woman isn't just a tiresome sort of man. I mean decency—chivalry if you make me say it.' Margaret Leat in *Venetian Blind* by William Haggard.

13. *Professional relationships.* 'Teachers must be able to establish rapport with children without developing personal entanglements. . . . The teacher's relationship with children should be based on friendliness, but must retain an essential quality of objectivity.' L. Kaplan, *Mental Health and Human Relations in Education*.

14. *The critical importance of personal relationships in adolescence.* 'Adolescents who fail in the developmental task of learning how to get on with their fellows are left with a handicap that carries through into many fields of life. . . . The social illiterate or semi-illiterate is as definitely a handicapped child as is the child who cannot read.' James Hemming, *Problems of Adolescent Girls*.

15. *The problem of prejudice.* 'It required years of labor and billions of dollars to gain the secret of the atom. It will take a still greater investment to gain the secrets of man's irrational nature. It is easier, someone has said, to smash an atom than a prejudice.' G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*.



8

DISCIPLINE

A VERY serious human and social problem is that of reducing the incidence of crime, and in recent years the problem of checking serious developments in crime has become specially urgent. Concerted action of several kinds is needed: more research into the reasons why people become criminals; more police employed on the detection of criminals; improvements in methods of punishment to make them more effective as deterrents and as means of reforming criminals; improvements in housing and social conditions; better education in homes, schools and in society generally. Responsibility is as widespread as the problem is grave. Parents, teachers, ministers of religion, those who make and administer laws, newspaper men, and many others have special responsibility. But no one can claim total exemption, for crime is a symptom of disease in the society of which we are all responsible members.

When someone becomes a criminal there are always a number of contributory causes. It follows that the problem cannot be solved, as many people seem to think, by the simple prescription of *sterner discipline*, by which they mean sterner treatment—severer sentences, harder prison conditions and in the opinion of a vocal minority the reintroduction of flogging. Sterner discipline in some form or other may be necessary, but by itself it often tends to harden criminals rather than to achieve the end we all desire—their conversion into good citizens. The problem is not only one of more discipline but of better, more effective discipline.

It is salutary to remind ourselves that most criminals were once mother's darlings at least for a few months, and that all criminals have passed through schools where presumably they received expert leadership, and gained some experience of using freedom wisely and of entering into some really personal relationships. Despite all these educative experiences they have gone wrong—a vivid illustration of the facts that education goes on outside as well as inside schools, and that out-of-school education is sometimes the stronger influence.

How can schools strengthen their influence? Psychologists tell us that there are two specially important periods: early childhood and adolescence. The establishment of a system of nursery schools and of nursery-school conditions in infants' schools, the extension of school life to 16 and of education at least on a part-time basis to 18—these reforms would obviously bring valuable additions to the strength of school influence. Other obvious needs are small classes at all stages, and close co-operation with parents.

But schools today are sometimes criticized, as are juvenile and criminal courts, for being 'soft'. Teachers, it is said, believe in freedom but they no longer believe in discipline. In his book, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, Sir Fred Clarke says that the term 'discipline', discredited through grave misuse, is today old-fashioned, ominous, a term fallen into bad odour; in the reaction against Victorian practice, he says, discipline has 'not to be spoken of . . . except as an unpleasant resource to be kept in reserve for rather desperate occasions'. There may be quarters where such views are held but teachers as a body have never given up their belief in discipline; they may, in the company of educational theorists, feel a little guilty of being old-fashioned when they praise it but in the company of their pupils they feel professional pride in being good disciplinarians, and they feel sorry for colleagues who are weak ones. A weak disciplinarian is instantly recognizable: he stands condemned

not only by his headmaster or inspector but also by his pupils and by himself; he is pathetically conscious that he is a failure.

It is perhaps among parents that mistaken views about discipline are commonest. The crude notion is abroad that children ought to be allowed to do very much as they like, and that parents are running a serious risk if they correct or punish them. It is not unknown for parents to ask teachers to punish their children. 'We don't want to do it,' said an anxious mother to a headmistress. 'We want to be friendly with our children.'

There is obviously some confusion of thought about discipline today—in the world at large as well as in schools. Teachers in schools allege that young teachers often begin their careers with false conceptions of its practical importance and difficulty; teachers in university training departments and training colleges allege that teachers in schools too often have unworthy conceptions of its real meaning and significance. On this topic, as on many others, there is a gulf between theory and practice. Such gulfs are not, as a rule, the result of one party being right and the other wrong. Each is often both right and wrong; often they are talking different languages while using the same words.

The Word 'Discipline'

It is therefore worth while examining the word 'discipline'. It comes from the same root as the word 'disciple', which today we translate by the word 'pupil'; discipline is connected with disciples, with pupils, with learning. 'Doctrine', on the other hand, is a word that comes from the same root as the word 'doctor' which today we translate by the word 'teacher'. Doctrine is abstract theory which is the property of teachers; discipline is practice or exercise which appertains to pupils.

The art of discipline is the art of making disciples. When we look at discipline in this fundamental way we see at once why

the word is used in so many different senses. Towards the end of the nineteenth century when many classes in elementary schools consisted of crowds of a hundred or more apathetic or rebellious children driven into school by the 'school-board man', the art of turning them into disciples consisted largely of the art of keeping order, and the word 'discipline' acquired two meanings: (a) punitive or restrictive treatment by teachers in the interests of orderly behaviour; (b) order among pupils achieved by this kind of treatment. Since order in these conditions could only be kept by men and women of strong, dominant personalities, the idea of discipline became associated with the forcible subjection of children's wills to the strong wills of adults. Strong wills were often not enough; they had to be reinforced by strong right arms. In some institutions discipline-masters were appointed not to teach but to keep order. A few years ago there was still a room in one English boarding-school labelled 'Disciplinary Master'. His functions were to supervise the impositions set by teachers, and on the rare occasions when teachers prescribed corporal punishment he administered it for them. When the duties no longer constituted a full-time post, they were combined with those of managing a tuck shop.

The word 'discipline' has a long history during which it has acquired different meanings. Wyclif used it in 1382 in his translation of Proverbs 3: 4: 'Thou shalt finde grace and good discipline before God and man.' It was used in 1548 in a description of the founding of Eton: 'He first holpe his awne young scholars to attain to discipline and for them he founded a solemne schoole at Eton.' Discipline was originally something worthy to be mentioned with the charming word 'grace', something desirable to be found and attained, and not something unpleasant to be administered like medicine with the help of punishment. This eager, willing, discipleship meaning of discipline has not yet found its way into dictionary definitions but

it has found its way into the minds of teachers ; this is one of the most heartening features of schools today and one to which we must return later in this chapter. Meanwhile let us consider the various dictionary meanings that the word 'discipline' has acquired in practice.

Dictionary Definitions of Discipline

If the art of discipline is the art of making disciples, we should expect to find, in the dictionary meanings of the word, reflections of the views that have been held on the ways in which disciples can be made. It is not surprising therefore to find that the Oxford Dictionary gives a list of no fewer than six meanings relevant to discipline in school. The first one is that discipline is '*instruction imparted to disciples or scholars*', a clear reflection of the common view that disciples are made by imparting information. The subsidiary dictionary definitions faithfully reflect other views.

The second meaning is '*a branch of instruction or education*'. The disciple or scholar has disappeared, and the branch of instruction itself is called discipline. The specialist has apparently overlooked the disciple and, attaching more importance to subjects than to pupils, he calls his subject—Latin, mathematics, science—a discipline. The meaning of the word has suffered a sideslip. It is not unfair to suggest that subjects in school came to be looked upon as disciplines to be administered ; the idea of disciples learning them willingly was overshadowed. It was in this atmosphere that false doctrines flourished : for example, the doctrine that it does not matter what a child is taught so long as he hates it enough ; the doctrine that children are averse from learning.

It follows quite logically that if children are to swallow these distasteful intellectual disciplines they must first receive another kind of discipline, moral discipline, to make them receptive—something analogous to the threats and coaxings and

arguments of an anxious mother about to administer medicine to her child. And so we come to the third dictionary meaning of discipline: '*instruction having for its aim to form the pupil to proper conduct and action—the training of scholars or subordinates to proper and orderly action by instructing them in the same*'. The recipient of discipline has reappeared but not as a disciple; he is now a pupil, a scholar, and significantly, a subordinate. There is little suggestion that moral discipline has anything to do with willing disciples; the picture is rather one of subordinates being trained.

The fourth meaning is '*the orderly conduct and action which result from training*'. The word 'discipline' has now acquired a new and important shade of meaning; it is no longer applied only to an individual but to a group. Discipline is 'orderly conduct', a social matter. The meaning of the word has also suffered another sideslip: discipline is now not instruction imparted to disciples, or instruction to inform pupils; it is not even the training of subordinates but the results of training.

The fifth dictionary definition is '*the order maintained and observed among pupils*'. The beautiful word 'discipline' has become almost completely depersonalized. The moral instructor or trainer of children has become the disciplinarian, a person who maintains order and calls it discipline. In the moral sphere, as in the intellectual, the idea of willing disciples has been lost; even the idea of pupils being instructed has gone. They have been replaced by the idea of subordinates being trained to produce order. If the personality of the trainer fails there is only one resource left—physical force. The mother, whose threats and coaxings and arguments fail, pinches her child's nose to prevent him from spitting out his medicine; in similar circumstances, the disciplinarian uses the cane and completes the debasing of the word 'discipline' which he now uses as a synonym for corporal punishment. The dictionary states this fact very clearly in its sixth definition; discipline, it says,

is 'correction, chastisement, punishment inflicted by way of correction'.

Let us recapitulate the story of the word 'discipline'; it is a story that shows how the meaning of a word can become confused and debased. It begins with glimpses of discipline as something to be found and attained, in company with grace, before God and man. In practice, however, discipline becomes imparted instruction, but still to disciples rather than to victims. Then the idea of discipleship is lost, and the title of discipline is given to specialist branches of instruction. A similar story is told in the moral sphere: discipline, beginning as instruction 'to form pupils to proper conduct', deteriorates into the training of subordinates, and then, as in the intellectual sphere, it becomes depersonalized; discipline becomes synonymous with orderly conduct and then, by a further descent into abstractness, with maintained order. Finally the word acquires its most unpleasant meaning: discipline becomes synonymous with chastisement. It loses its association with delight and grace, and becomes associated with fear and pain; it appertains not to eager, willing disciples but to frightened, unwilling subordinates.

Discipline and Human Nature

Why has the word acquired unpleasant associations? Is it the result of anything fundamental in human nature? In so far as the nature of people has sub-human components the answer is 'Yes', but in so far as people are fully human the answer is 'No'. If we use the term 'human' in its highest sense it is true to say with Macmurray¹ that there is a craving for discipline, for discipleship, in human nature and that this craving 'is simply the longing to fulfil one's own nature'. If this craving is given a chance, human beings, especially if they are fresh and unspoiled, 'will respond to the call of discipline with a rush of

¹ John Macmurray, *Reason and Emotion* (Faber, 1935), pp. 83 ff.

spontaneous happiness'. It is by this kind of disciplined striving that man has achieved all he has of truth, beauty, goodness and community well-being. And in doing so many men and women have enjoyed happiness of a high order—'the kind of happiness distinctive of man, because the happiness of pigs . . . is not possible for men. If you try to make yourself content with the happiness of a pig your suppressed potentialities will make you miserable.'¹ This is true of all human beings, perhaps continuously, permanently and painfully true of many who are specially gifted, but it is also true, at least spasmodically and dimly, of ordinary people and especially of children whether their potentialities be high or low. When we are tempted to think that some children have no potentiality for happiness distinctive of man, the suppression of which could make them miserable, it is well to reflect that they all have, or have had, potentiality for establishing personal relationships and for enjoying the kind of goodness that flows from them. But discipline should not be associated only with good conduct in a community. It is just as characteristic of seekers after truth, from the little child trying to solve a problem in arithmetic to the man of science exploring the atom; and of creators of beauty, from the little child painting a picture to the industrial designer who, we are told, must be prepared for the discipline of six months' work in order to perfect a single capital letter.

These ideas may sound very abstract and theoretical, but we all recognize their truth on a simple, practical plane. Children do not like a teacher whose discipline, as we say, is weak; they much prefer one who by democratic leadership inspires them to give their best, and on occasion by stern authority makes them do so. They are unhappy in a classroom where things are always done in a slipshod way. Churchill, in his book *Painting as a Pastime* (p. 9), expresses the same truth:

¹ Bertrand Russell in *This is my Philosophy*, ed. Whit Burnett (Allen & Unwin, 1958).

As for the unfortunate people who can command everything they want, who can gratify every caprice and lay their hands on almost every object of desire—for them a new pleasure, a new excitement is only an additional satiation. In vain they rush frantically round from place to place, trying to escape from avenging boredom by mere clatter and motion. For them discipline in one form or another is the most hopeful path.

They remind us of the little girl in a so-called free-discipline school who with a pathetic air inquired, 'Do you have to do as you like in this school?'

Discipline begins with a natural desire to achieve some goal in the realms of truth, beauty, or goodness in personal or community life. The next step is a realization of imperfection in ourselves followed by repeated, conscious efforts to improve. These efforts may be made in isolation by thought and contemplation, by using our hands, by the study of books. They may be made in company; we recognize that others are superior and we strive to make their way our own. The essence of real discipline is thus, not forced submission to the will of tyrants, but willing submission to better ways which we discover for ourselves by practice or study or which we learn from admired superiors. True discipline is self-discipline.

Discipline, Treatment and Order

This use of the word 'discipline' is very different from popular usages in which the word may mean either stern treatment or orderly behaviour. When a boy is said to be in need of discipline the main idea usually conveyed is that he needs stern treatment; it may or may not turn his thoughts to the idea of acquiring real discipline. When the discipline in a classroom is said to be good, the main idea conveyed is that the pupils behave in an orderly way, the order is good. It may be good because the discipline of the pupils is good; or because the treatment of the teacher has a dominating influence, and then

real discipline may be almost non-existent. Discipline is a state of mind but order is a state of affairs. It makes for clear thinking to distinguish between discipline, treatment and order. Children need them all, and ideally the problem is to give them the kinds of treatment that lead to self-discipline for then order is produced as a by-product. In practice, however, other kinds of treatment, aimed at imposing order, are often necessary. Order in classrooms is essential, and there are always some children in a large class who are difficult and exceptionally slow to learn the art of being willing disciples. And teachers are subject to ordinary emotions from which it is not always necessary or even desirable to shield children. In the words of D. H. Lawrence, 'The flashing interchange of anger between parent and child is part of the responsible relationship necessary to growth,' and despite its obvious dangers, anger in teacher-pupil relationships may have some value; it is certainly less wearisome and harmful to both parties than continual nagging and moaning. Punishment of various kinds is an inevitable, and to some extent a natural accompaniment of the process of living; it is necessary to the growing-up of children and adolescents, and to the maturing of adults—a fact that is often overlooked except in games where, for example, we rightly speak of a bowler of loose balls being punished by the batsman. Punishment, either actual or as a threat in the background, is also necessary to the maintenance of order in any community.

But punishment is not discipline. It is a form of negative treatment useful occasionally for imposing order so that forms of positive treatment may have a chance of beginning to exert a disciplinary influence. There is no short-cut to discipline. Nor is there any easy way.

Discipline and Freedom

Discipline cannot be achieved by abandoning or minimizing treatment. Children do not learn to become willing disciples, as

some theorists seem to suggest, merely by being left to do what they like. We have in Chapter 7 already exposed the fallacy of absolute freedom. Children are not set free to acquire discipline merely by being left alone; they are, for example, constrained by their own conflicting impulses and by their lack of skill and knowledge. They are set free only when their impulses are brought into harmony with their true human nature and with the needs of others in their group; and when their lack of skill and knowledge is made good by willing submission to those who already possess them. There is a real connexion between freedom and discipline, but it has been confused rather than made clear by the invention of the term 'free discipline'. The connexion is difficult to describe but it can be clearly seen in the development of an act of physical skill.

A man who has never played golf is not free to drive a golf-ball 200 yards merely as a result of buying a club and then keeping out of the way of everyone from whom he might learn; he needs discipline, to become a disciple, and it is only after much study and striving that his clumsy movements become integrated into a free, graceful, disciplined swing. The goal for both children and golfers is freedom, and it is acquired through discipline. A child cannot get freedom as if it were a gift merely be accepted; it is more like a prize to be won after arduous effort.

Discipline and freedom grow together; they are necessary one to the other. Thus we can legitimately speak of the discipline of freedom and the freedom of discipline. The road that leads to them is long and the journey difficult. In school, teachers clearly have the important function of giving children the right kinds of treatment. There are two kinds, positive and negative: (a) leadership to make them aware of their best human impulses, and of the fact that there are valuable purposes in life; leadership to put them on the road to discipline and freedom, and to support and inspire them on their journey

along it; (b) restraints and checks to prevent them from giving way to their wayward impulses and from straying off the road. Some part of the necessary disciplinary influence does not depend on individual teachers, for in many schools the tone and tradition, built up perhaps by generations of devoted staff and pupils, continually and silently exert both positive and negative influences that help children to become disciplined and free.

The Disciplinary Relationship

The teacher's disciplinary function is much more subtle and difficult than merely imparting instruction with the aid of chastisement; it involves keeping a delicate balance between control and freedom at every stage—limiting children's freedom to protect them from their own weakness and inexperience, and yet giving them the greatest possible freedom and encouragement for their development. This means establishing a very special kind of relationship with them; we all achieve it in our best moments and some seem able to maintain it at all times and in all conditions. We can recognize it but it is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to describe it in words. Buber has tried to do so, and everyone who is seeking to understand the art of discipline should try to imbibe the spirit of his book, *Between Man and Man*. He at least gives us glimpses of the discipleship relation of child and teacher: no 'gesture of interference' by the teacher, but a presentation 'with an appearance of rest' of what the child needs from what is concentrated in the teacher's mind and personality; it is an integrating influence proceeding from the teacher's integrity, and all without any suggestion of domination. As Clarke says, 'In the disciplinary relationship, teacher or parent is selfless in the sense of being wholly disinterested, seeking not his own'—no interference, but steady, wholesome influence.

Our language seems peculiarly inadequate for describing personal relationships, perhaps because we have given little

conscious attention to them. The words used in the diagram on p. 187 are obviously inadequate to describe all the subtle relationships that are possible between people. Perhaps the difficulty really lies in the subtlety of the subject, and we may be trying to do the impossible—to describe in words an artistic whole as unique as a painting or a sonata. It may be more helpful to think of those inspired moments in our own experience when we felt the relationship with a child, or to think of a teacher genius who seemed continually to achieve it. Marion Richardson was such a one, and she described it as 'a relationship amounting to love'. That declaration can be, and often is, misunderstood as being mere sentimentality. A reviewer of her book, *Art and the Child*, inspired by her example, describes the relationship very beautifully thus:

Here is a simple-minded woman saturated with a sense of abiding beauty in her world. Here are children devoid of any such sense at all. While maintaining her highest possible intake, she increased, to the uttermost sacrifice, her output. Of such relationship true teaching consists. . . . That is a phenomenon susceptible of repetition in every subject of the curriculum. . . . There must be a *filling* of the teacher's soul with such loves. There must be an emptying of the teacher's soul before her scholars—a 'passing of something' between them. This dual relationship lies at the core of great teaching. . . . The source of all living things must be sought with diligence. The seeker passes through his wilderness, treads his own *via dolorosa*, carries his own cross. He has however his Mounts of Transfiguration. He has also his Resurrection, perhaps the only resurrection there is, in the beauty and fulness of the lives of those who sat at his feet. (*The London Schoolmaster*, January-February, 1949.)

There is a picture, not of a disciplinarian imposing order and imparting instruction, but of a teacher transmitting discipline, an inspired maker of disciples. The obverse is a picture, not of subordinates passively or unwillingly accepting instruction,

either in a subject or in proper conduct, but of disciples eagerly and actively learning in communion with a teacher.

Disciplinary Treatment

There are of course some pupils who unfortunately come to school neither fresh nor unspoiled, and who cannot respond immediately to this delicate kind of disciplinary influence. For them, and indeed for everyone in his weaker moments, firmness and authority, and even an occasional reminder of unpleasant consequences, are necessary. Lord Montgomery mentions the problem in a lecture on discipline: 'A certain type of training', he says, 'may induce men to go forward in an attack simply out of fear of the consequences of not doing so. This applies only to the weakest and most feeble of men who are of little value in battle. This type of training is an essential part of discipline but it must never be mistaken for the whole.'

We have tried to give a clear description of the meaning of discipline, but as with descriptions of any of the deeper aspects of personality and of the more intimate relationships between people, clearness can only be achieved by over-simplification. There are, for example, many kinds of difficult children; there are many reasons why they are difficult and they need many special kinds of individual treatment. There are many kinds of personality among teachers; some seem to radiate an influence that is both controlling and inspiring, but others, while earnestly trying to keep order and give freedom, seem actually to incite disorder. Many who begin like this overcome their difficulties; they are often sensitive persons who in the end achieve a finer relationship with children than some of more dominant personality. There are many 'tricks of the trade' that all teachers acquire with practice, and that help to lay a foundation of good order on which true discipline can be built—the discerning eye that keeps waverers on the road, the regular classroom routine that helps a teacher to keep order without fuss.

It is as difficult to describe real discipline as to achieve it. Our description bears the same kind of relation to the actual problem of discipline in school as a diagram of the underground railways bears to the actual topography of London. Nevertheless, it may, like the diagram, be of some use in helping us to find our way to our destination—a solution of a very urgent problem of contemporary life. It is the problem of reconciling control with freedom, of achieving freedom through discipline. 'We must find out some means', as Shaw says, 'of making men workers and, if need be, warriors, without making them slaves.'

'A bishop once had the hardihood to say that he would rather see England free than England sober. Nobody has dared yet to say that he would rather see an England of ignoramuses than an England of cowards and slaves', says Shaw. 'And if anyone did', he proceeds, 'it would be necessary to point out that the antithesis is not a practical one, as we have got at present an England of ignoramuses who are also cowards and slaves, and extremely proud of it at that, because in school they are taught to submit . . . and set to the tasks they loathe by men they hate and fear, as if this were the inevitable destiny of mankind.'¹

Our diagrammatic description of discipline in school is nearer the truth today than this graphic picture painted by Shaw, as a visit to almost any school would prove. The following is a striking but by no means a unique illustration:

The scene is a classroom in dockland. When the visitor enters, the teacher is ruling a square on a large-scale ordinance survey map with the school at the centre, and six boys and girls round the table are talking to him about the exploration of the neighbourhood they and he are about to begin. Conversation comes round to a dock strike nearby caused by the introduction of new machines; it flows back to the Luddite riots, and for-

¹ *Misalliance*: a Treatise on Parents and Children, G. B. Shaw.

ward again to the way in which machines are still changing the world's work and saving labour and causing difficulties. The conversation ends on an optimistic note: things will come right in the end. The visitor looks up and finds that the six have quietly increased to thirty-six; four are too engrossed in what they are doing to leave their desks. He says good-bye and the group disperses to carry on with its project on the World's Work—all but one ten-year-old who follows him to the door. 'Would you tell me if your job is interesting?' he asks. The conversation ends with a cordial agreement that even the most interesting jobs, like inspecting schools or doing a project, entail some uninteresting work but that such work is necessary and must be faced cheerfully.

A year earlier the teacher of that class was trying to impart instruction in conventional class lessons and he had difficulty in keeping order; he was a weak disciplinarian. He changed his methods, reformed the curriculum, treated the children not as subordinates but as co-workers, and transformed his class from a collection of difficult children under instruction into a community of happy children under discipline. All the marks of true discipline appeared—good order, hard work, a sense of duty, confidence and fearlessness, independence and self-reliance, a readiness to tackle difficulties, and no doubt, if necessary, to ensure hardships. It was a discipline worthy to rank with that which Lord Montgomery has described as 'the superb discipline of the army'—a discipline that 'does not consist of a slavish obedience to orders, but is a looser, more rational framework of control in which the soldier's independence can flourish unhindered.'¹

It is in order to promote this superb discipline that we need, not more canes, but more books and equipment, more space, more sensible furniture, more small classes, more understanding of the real needs of children at different ages, more vision of

¹ *Forward from Victory*, Lord Montgomery (Hutchinson, 1948), pp. 100-1.

the true meaning of discipline. The time will then come when the first dictionary definition will be one that does not now appear:

Discipline—willing submission (a) to genuine authorities in the realm of truth, beauty or goodness, (b) to the just needs of the community of which all are freely participating members.

Disciplinarian—a person who inspires others to become willing disciples.

And to the last definition—discipline is chastisement—will be added the word, '*Archaic*.'

SUMMARY

The word 'discipline' is used in a number of different senses: (i) instruction imparted to disciples; (ii) subjects of instruction; (iii) instruction and training of subordinates aimed at producing proper and orderly conduct; (iv) orderly conduct; (v) order; (vi) correction, chastisement, punishment aimed at preventing disorderly conduct.

These six definitions contain three ideas: those of treatment, discipleship and order. They are all relevant to discipline but the idea of discipleship is most closely and fundamentally relevant.

A disciplined person is someone who has become a willing disciple or learner in the various activities of life. He knows the value of obeying genuine authority in its many forms, for example: the authority of truth in academic studies, the control imposed by the nature of the material in art and craft, the authorities that govern life in a community, the inner authority of his own truly human nature. He does not need to be driven to activities of value—mental, physical or social: he does not need to be kept in order. Real discipline is self-discipline.

The most useful kind of treatment for producing discipline, for helping persons to become willing disciples, is inspiring, democratic leadership; it makes instruction acceptable and

stimulates personal effort. Restraint and punishment, however, are sometimes also necessary.

The best kind of order is self-imposed—a by-product of true discipline. There are occasions, however, when order must be imposed by persons in authority.

The connexion between discipline and freedom is so close as almost to defy clear description. Freedom of many kinds is necessary to the growth of self-discipline, and such discipline, when achieved, increases freedom. Or, to look at the connexion from another angle, freedom can be achieved only by willing submission to genuine authority, and a person who is willing to make such submission has achieved real discipline.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Discussion topics. 1. *The meaning of discipline.* 'True discipline does not consist in external sanctions; it can consist only in submission to the ineluctable laws of life. The business of living is, therefore, first to recognize them for what they are, in our dim, fragmentary and imperfect way (beware of the man who thinks he knows too well!) and then, so far as our wisdom allows, to make them our own. That is the discipline of life; and it is self-discipline, towards which all other disciplines are at the best contributory, and at the worst obstructive.' Aubrey de Sélincourt, *The School-master*.

2. *Discipline and freedom.* 'Freedom means discipline because we must order our own selves so that our forces work together and not in conflict, and because we must master the techniques by means of which we live. And freedom means dedication, because, if our personal resources are to be released with their full effective power, we must be living for something beyond ourselves, in the service of which we can lose our concern about ourselves.' M. V. C. Jeffreys, *Beyond Neutrality*.

'Freedom must be the actual ability to form and carry out a purpose. This implies discipline—at first external discipline to check the wayward impulses before there is a real purpose in life to control them, and afterwards a self-discipline directed to the fulfilment of the purpose of life when formed.' William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order*.

3. *The value of order.* 'Freedom is a finer thing than order, but order is more indispensable than freedom. If freedom is so developed as to turn into anarchy and chaos, men will always accept the alternative of tyranny in hope that order may be restored.' William Temple, op. cit.

'All people recognize the need for some system of regulation and discipline, for they feel themselves insecure and at a loss when no such system exists. The profoundest forces of the personality work towards the creation of order, which is, when you come to think of it, the predominant activity of the human race.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

'It is better known now than in Froebel's day that children may be terrified by the evil passions they feel within them, and they often stand in dire need of all the strength a teacher has to protect them from themselves. Hence the sense of repose one often finds in a preparatory class where the teacher, though kind, is stern; and where children know they will not be allowed to misbehave. Too much stern rule means, of course, too little training in self-discipline; but in the early stages it is most important that children shall feel the protecting power of the teacher to help them to "be good"—that is to help them to feel a happy contributing part of the whole group.' From *Friedrich Froebel*, edited by Evelyn Lawrence.

'While Carlyle persuaded himself that no order could be had except through a discipline exerted by an aristocracy, Arnold, "a true apostle of equality" believed that order could only be ultimately secure when the whole people learnt self-discipline through culture, culture which seeks to do away with classes, to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere.' J. Dover Wilson, Introduction to *Culture and Anarchy* by Matthew Arnold.

4. *Delinquency and society.* 'Somebody once said that a society gets the crime it deserves. This is going too far. . . . But it seems extremely unlikely that crime will be seriously checked until firmer moral training of children by their parents is reinforced by a vastly improved moral climate in society as a whole.' Christopher Mayhew in *The Observer*, 25 June 1961.

'The virtues of discipline, self-control, and responsibility for one's own conduct and for the well-being of one's community need to be constantly reasserted and practised in a society which, in a variety of ways, encourages people to live for themselves and without thought for the morrow.' R. A. Butler in a speech in London, 6 June 1961.

9

THE CREATIVE SPIRIT

WE pointed out (p. 143) that negative kinds of freedom—freedoms-from—are not enough. Many people who today enjoy in large measure freedom from want and from fear of want are not fully alive; nor, taking a long view, is their future assured. This, for example, is the future of comfortable suburbia as T. S. Eliot sees it:

In the land of lobelias and tennis flannels
The rabbit shall burrow and the thorn revisit,
The nettle shall flourish on the gravel court,
And the wind shall say: 'Here were decent godless people:
Their only monument the asphalt road
And a thousand lost golf balls.'

Poets often see further than those political reformers who seek to persuade us that material prosperity and social security are all that we need. Man needs these things but they do not wholly satisfy him. They are a necessary part of the foundations on which a satisfying life can be built. Given them, men and women are free to make a home, to create children, to make friends, to create communities. They are able to enjoy a positive freedom; freedom-to under the impulse of the life urge is the natural outcome of freedom-from. As our examples have shown, this positive freedom is freedom to make, to create. Creativeness, with its accompaniment of joy, bubbles forth whenever a person, or a group, is really alive. Bergson puts it this way: 'True joy is the emphatic signal of the triumph of life; wherever joy is creation has been, and the richer the

creation the deeper the joy.' Life is characterized externally by creation, internally by joy.

Smuts has expressed the same truth in his philosophy of holism. For him, creativeness is the mark not only of human life but of the whole universe, animate and inanimate. He discerns a tendency towards the creation of wholes operating throughout nature: matter itself is composed of atoms which modern science has revealed to be wonderfully balanced wholes consisting of electrons revolving round a nucleus; these atoms combine to form new and more complicated wholes which we call molecules. The same holistic tendency is also evident throughout the whole realm of animate nature, from the lowliest plant to the loftiest tree, from amoeba to man, where we find its highest expression in the wonderful whole of an integrated human personality. At this high level the holistic tendency is still at work, and man creates friendships and more complicated wholes which we call families and communities. In this social setting, under the impulse of the life urge, man creates what Smuts describes as ideal wholes of which mathematical principles, scientific laws, pictures, sonatas, poems, moral laws are examples.

The philosophy of holism gives us one way of describing the goal of life: the creation of harmonious personalities, friendships and communities, and the creation of spiritual wholes that are true, beautiful and good. Creativeness is seen in its most intense and perfect forms in the lives and works of scholars, artists, saints and makers of literature; but it does not belong to them exclusively. It is a universal impulse and wherever the human spirit is free we see human beings striving to give it expression. The ideal of liberating the creative spirit in every individual is the ideal that inspires true education and democracy.

It is an immense task. It involves the removal of handicaps, for example, of want and disease and fear and hate and ignorance and clumsiness and acquisitiveness and insensitivity to

beauty. As man is set free from such handicaps he achieves a positive freedom—freedom to be creative. In a word he comes alive. His personality develops harmoniously; he co-operates with his fellows in the creation of friendships and communities; he takes his share, however humble, in the creation of truth, beauty and goodness. He must often learn from authorities more gifted or more mature than he is himself, but the creative spirit may still be at work. True appreciation, for example, is an act of creation—the re-creation of the idea or vision of the original creator, be he thinker, artist or saint. Here are some clear illustrations: the growth of number concepts in young children, the appreciation of a mathematical discovery such as the Theorem of Pythagoras, the appreciation of masterpieces of music, art and architecture, the singing of songs and the playing of music, the contemplative appreciation of the life and works of a man like Albert Schweitzer. But the potentialities of ordinary people and especially of children for creating, as distinct from appreciating or re-creating, have certainly been underestimated.

One reason is that we have made false judgments of children's work based on adult standards which were largely irrelevant and often also debased. Expert professionals and adults generally have had to learn to be more humble, understanding and generous in their judgments of the creative work of amateurs and children, with the result that it is now generally acknowledged that the best way of developing the creative spirit, not only in the form of direct expression but also of true appreciation, is to give opportunities for free and sincere creative work, no matter how imperfect and crude the first results may seem to be. Humble attempts to work creatively are the best foundation for appreciation of excellence; witness, for example, the absorption of an amateur gardener looking at trade exhibits in a flower show, of a child artist in a picture gallery, of a member of a school orchestra at an orchestral

concert, of a teacher-in-training after his first school-practice watching a first-class teacher at work.

The Routine Spirit

There is a second reason why the creative spirit has been under-valued in education in the past: its opposite, the routine spirit, has been over-valued. Educationists do not go so far as to act in the belief that, as Freud has suggested, human beings are endowed with a 'repetition compulsion'—the will to die. But they have tended to exploit children's apparent love of repetition. Putting unbounded faith in the proverb, 'Practice makes perfect,' which after all contains only a half-truth, they have exalted repetition above creative insight as a method of learning. Much repetition in school and the world is performed under external compulsion. But why is it that much repetition seems to be chosen voluntarily?

There are probably two very different reasons, and they are clearly illustrated by the following observations of a child's behaviour:

At 4 months: He watched a swinging clock pendulum for five minutes with but one momentary turning away of the head: the occupation was then ended only by the advent of another person into the room.

This behaviour may be interpreted as wonderfully attentive or as semi-hypnotic. After the first few seconds the latter is probably the correct interpretation. The easiest course was to continue following the movement to and fro; it would have needed an effort to break away from the routine.

At 4 years: He watched a clock for seven minutes without a break in an effort to find out 'what makes it tick'.

Hypnotic and Purposeful Repetition

At the extremes there appear to be two kinds of repetition: hypnotically compulsive and creatively purposeful.

The first kind is pure repetition, and it can hardly be said to be enjoyable. It has a soporific effect and is the basis of well-known devices for inducing sleep. A striking illustration of the effect of pure routine is given by Fabre in his description of the pine-processional caterpillars. They always move, the tip of the nose of each one touching the tip of the tail of the one in front. Fabre once set a number of them moving in a closed circle round a large flowerpot. Although he put a supply of their favourite food, pine needles, close by, they did not turn aside but kept on moving round and round the pot for seven days, getting thinner and thinner and more exhausted. And, says Elinor Mordaunt, who quotes the story in her novel, *The Processionals*, 'heaps of people are just the same.'

There are some situations in which pure repetition appears to be enjoyable. Some factory workers claim to enjoy routine work but inquiry shows that they really enjoy the day-dreaming in which, owing to the narcotic effect of routine, they are free to indulge. It is the whole situation rather than the routine that they enjoy.

There are many situations in which more or less pure repetition is useful because it leaves people free for creative activity. Fixed forms of classroom routine are one example. A more subtle example is given by the repetition of rhythm and rhyme. Here are two descriptions of the same scene in similar words:

'Under the roof there is nothing but sleep in the corridors.
The apples, stiller than ever they were on their boughs, are
keeping tryst with the moon and a deep silence reigns over
these wonderful apples lit up by the moon.'

'In the corridors under there is nothing but sleep,
And stiller than ever on orchard boughs they keep
Tryst with the moon, and deep is the silence, deep
On moon-washed apples of wonder.'

The rhythm of the verse and the repetition of sounds (sleep,

keep, deep, deep; under, wonder) have a delicately soporific effect. They are not pure repetition and their variations help to keep us awake. But they are soothing enough to act 'like a curtain separating us from the outside world', and to set us free from it. We become so sensitized and attuned that as we read we are able to some extent to re-create intuitively the scene, the mood, the emotions and the deep meaning that inspired the poet (John Drinkwater). We become unusually aware and alive. There is a connexion, no less important because it is subtle, between creativeness and repetition, even the kind that is somewhat hypnotic in its effects.

It is, however, purposeful repetition that is directly enjoyable. A young child enjoys the exact repetition of a favourite story over and over again, but it is reasonable to suppose that for a long time each repetition is more than mere repetition. It is accompanied by a feeling of progressive familiarity, a feeling of mastery becoming each time more complete. As mastery becomes complete, the creative spirit finds expression in more explicit ways. For example, the story of 'The Three Bears' repeated to children day after day on a gramophone soon lost its fascination: some started playing irrelevant games; a boy aged three continued the story in his own way; later the story became the story of 'The Four Bears'. The same kind of reaction against strict routine is seen in children's play; as mastery of a simple game is attained, a new complication is introduced to make it harder. The truth appears to be, therefore, that love of repetition and routine may often be something very different—a love of progress that has its origin in the creative spirit.

There are times when it is necessary for us all to be steadied by the ballast of tradition, to be slowed down by the restraining influence of routine and ritual; and all the time we are subject to the influence of the culture into which we are born and which we must absorb. But if at any age passivity and routine rule our

lives it is a sign that the will to die is becoming stronger than the will to live. In old age the time must come when this is more or less the normal state of affairs, but in healthy childhood it is abnormal, a danger-signal warning parents and teachers that something is wrong with a child's environment.

The Creative Spirit

In education today we realize the importance of arranging an environment that stimulates the creative spirit, and very valuable results have already been achieved. For example, children in school have revealed that they are potential artists; that they can make designs and paint pictures that have real aesthetic quality, and that they find delight in doing so. This is true of children generally, and not merely of an exceptionally talented child here and there; it is true of infants, juniors and seniors, and of children who have been ascertained as educationally sub-normal. This exciting revelation has prompted the question whether children are not potentially creative artists in other media—in movement and music-making, in drama and craft, in language, in personal relationships. Evidence is rapidly accumulating that in all these branches of human activity children have potentialities for creation, of which we did not dream fifty years ago.

Here is a child's description of a frog:

What a wonderful bird the frog are
When he sit he almost stand
When he hop he almost fly
What a wonderful bird the frog are.

When Sir Ernest Gowers wanted an illustration for civil servants of simple, terse, direct English he quoted an essay written by a child of ten on a bird and a beast:¹

¹ *Plain Words* (H.M.S.O., 1948), p. 31.

The bird I am going to write about is the Owl. The Owl cannot see at all by day and at night is as blind as a bat.

I do not know much about the Owl, so I will go on to the beast which I am going to choose. It is the Cow. The Cow is a mammal. It has six sides, right, left, an upper and below. At the back it has a tail on which hangs a brush. With this it sends the flies away so that they do not fall into the milk. The head is for the purpose of growing horns and so that the mouth can be somewhere. The horns are to butt with, and the mouth is to moo with. Under the cow hangs the milk. It is arranged for milking. When people milk, the milk comes and there is never an end to the supply. How the cow does it I have not yet realized, but it makes more and more. The cow has a fine sense of smell; one can smell it far away. This is the reason for the fresh air in the country.

The man cow is called an ox. It is not a mammal. The cow does not eat much, but what it eats it eats twice, so that it gets enough. When it is hungry it moos, and when it says nothing it is because its inside is all full up with grass.

The writer, as Gowers says, 'has unconsciously achieved style.'

In these examples, the creative spirit of children reveals itself in the simplicity and directness with which they use ordinary words. From a deeper level it bubbles forth in a fresh and unexpected use of words:

We have all heard the piercing cry of a blackbird alarmed for the safety of its young but which of us in adult life has ever equalled a young child's description? 'That blackbird', he exclaimed, 'is singing like spears.'

'What is it that makes a picture?' asked Marion Richardson. 'When everything rhymes,' was one child's reply.

There are occasions, however, when the ordinary words in a child's vocabulary do not suffice. Then at times we are astonished by a wonderful act of creation—the creation of new words staggering in their aptness:

A boy out for a walk saw a bungalow for the first time and was intensely interested in the 'house with no upstairs'. 'Yes,'

he was told, 'we call it a bungalow.' A little later they came to a Tudoresque villa with a highly ornamented façade. The boy looked it up and down and then remarked, 'A bungal-up, I suppose.'

Once the creative energy of children is released it triumphs over the obstacle of childish insufficiency and breaks through technical difficulties. Simplicity, sincerity, directness, freshness, inventiveness—these are some of the fruits of the creative spirit. They are clearly revealed in children's paintings. As we look at them and contrast them with the 'heart-breaking delineations of bathroom taps and umbrellas,' and with the laborious efforts to imitate 'the inimitable magic' of daffodils and primroses, we ought to feel humble. For many years, in the interests of what we called education, we cramped children's powers of artistic expression, and all the time the children could have taught us. 'Why should I copy this? It's there already,' said a girl preparing for an examination in art. What is the answer?

We should all beware when we are tempted to denounce modern trends in education. The 'activity' movement is no mere passing fashion; it is a sincere attempt to release the creative energy of children. No doubt we are making many mistakes; but it is so well worth doing, it is even worth doing badly. It is the human, democratic way of making progress. We have clearly passed out of the copy-dictator stage in children's art. We are beginning to move out of the similar stage in other children's activities; we are discovering ways of giving scope to the creative spirit in physical education (movement and dance), in drama, music and craft, in the use of language spoken and written, in environmental studies that lead on to more advanced studies in history, geography, mathematics and science, and most fundamental of all in the art of living together through pupil participation in the life of the school community.

There is one form of creative expression that has not hitherto been given the scope that it deserves. We know from their spontaneous remarks that children from the age of three create for themselves explanations of natural phenomena. Here are some examples :

3 yrs. 6 mths. 'The sun has coal for its supper.' (When asked how he knew he said he had seen the coal in a field.)

4 yrs. 4 mths. (during a snowstorm). 'I suppose snow is really rain and they mix cream with it to make it white.'

4 yrs. 8 mths. 'I know how they make you. They collect the dead leaves and those make the skin. Then they fill them up [pause] and of course [pointing to his nails] you'll need a pound of those.'

5 yrs. 'The sun is a bird, it's got wings . . . to get to Australia and back.'

5 yrs. (playing with a bath tap). 'I suppose this comes up and makes a little hole and the water comes out.'

These explanations fall into two categories—imaginative and rational. When a child is unable to make a rational explanation he is not daunted; he calls imagination to his aid. It is an indispensable means of helping him to continue experimenting in the face of obstacles that otherwise would prove insuperable; a means but not the end, for this, towards which he is striving, is a rational explanation of his world. If, however, a rational creation is not possible he takes an equal delight in inventing a symbolic one. Alternatively, and very frequently, he turns to an adult for help. This is one reason why children ask so many questions :

3 yrs. 6 mths. 'Where does the blue sky go at night?'

3 yrs. 7 mths. 'What keeps the sky up?'

4 yrs. 5 mths. 'How does the water get up in the sky?'

4 yrs. 5 mths. 'How do they make babies?'

4 yrs. 5 mths. 'Why am I not in two all the way up?'

4 yrs. 8 mths. 'What makes the sky blue?'

4 yrs. 9 mths. 'Why does the glass look different in the water but it

doesn't if you just put water in the glass? The water can't really bend the glass, can it?"

5 yrs. 'How can the baby grow in skin? . . . How does he get any air?"

5 yrs. (on a foggy day). 'What makes the sun so red?"

Children know that grown-ups have powers of understanding far beyond their own. It is true that they call us in occasionally to join their phantasy play, but they do not expect us as a rule to live on a make-believe plane. They expect us to treat their serious questions seriously; if we are mending an electric bell they want to know about the wires, and where they must touch and if they are hollow, even though a moment later when playing at electric trains among themselves they make shift with bits of plasticine which do not connect and along which no electricity can flow. This is not because they prefer pretending, but because it is the readiest, perhaps the only way, to achieve their purpose.

Here then is a way in which we ought to give far greater scope than we do for the creative spirit of young children to manifest itself. Primary schools need gardens and laboratories (either special rooms or science corners) with a wealth of material to provoke children's questions and 'I suppose' remarks about both science and mathematics—places containing animals and plants, magnets and electric bells, spring balances and pulleys, thermometers, fountain-pen fillers, and scientific toys of many kinds.

Obstacles to Creative Expression

There are many obstacles to the free expression of the creative spirit. Out of school adverse conditions are produced by industrialized society: overcrowded homes, mothers at work, the division of labour in mass-production factories. In school there are large classes in small classrooms; there is anxiety about the so-called 11+ examination; there are scholastic and

examination traditions which encourage us to think of education as the memorizing of facts. These are obstacles because they tempt us to undermine the sense of security of children, especially of those who are not endowed with a high degree of memory and of what we call general intelligence.

Creativeness is the choicest flower of child development; its buds appear universally in the stage of babyhood warmed by the sunshine of mother-love, but too often they wither away in the frosts of insecurity before they come into full bloom. We do not mean to produce this sad result; we do it unwittingly and with the best of intentions. We want children to get on; that is, to know the facts we know, to have the skills we have, to behave as we behave, or rather as our consciences tell us we ought to behave. Consequently, we take up an attitude of readiness to pounce on children's mistakes. We are shocked at the bad grammar of 'When he sit he almost stand,' whereas we ought to feel humble at its expressiveness which is far beyond anything we ourselves could now achieve. We are worried by the lack of perspective in a child's drawing of a house and fail to see that it is part of a picture with 'everything rhyming' far beyond our artistic powers. We laugh at the quaintness of 'The sun is a bird,' instead of recognizing it as a poetic description worthy to rank with many others that in the context of literature we delight to accept; the sun is 'the glorious lamp of heaven,' 'the gilded car of day,' it is Phoebus who 'rides through rejoicing heaven' and who later

'gan decline in haste
His weary wagon to the western vale.

The descriptions of literature throw a new light on things: in the words of G. K. Chesterton,¹ 'a diffused light which some call the twilight of superstition and some the ultimate violet ray of the sixth sense of man, but which the strictest rationalist will

¹ In his introduction to *The Golden Arrow*, by Mary Webb.

hardly deny to have been the luminous atmosphere of a great part of literature and legend. In one sense it is the light which never was on sea or land, and in another sense the light without which sea and land are invisible.' All the descriptions we have quoted, whether from children or grown-ups—of frog, house and sun—are apt and true. So too is the description of a frog in a text-book of biology, of a house in a book on architecture, and the description of the sun in a science text-book as a radiant globe, 866,400 miles in diameter.

Art and Science: Fruits of the Creative Spirit

We are now face to face with a fundamental problem of education: how can we nurture the development of children so that as they grow up their creative spirit is kept alive, blossoming and producing fruits of two kinds—artistic and scientific? How can we help them to refine their artistic impulses through the discipline of technique? How can we stimulate their scientific impulses through the inspiration of imagination? It is easier to say how not to do it than how to do it.

We ought not to encourage feeble fantasies, to worship mere quaintness. Still less should we indulge in infantile talk on the plea that we are coming down to the children's level. On the other hand we ought not to laugh at a child who says, 'The sun is a bird.' From the point of view of science as well as art he is on the right path; he is simply doing what poets and scientists are continually doing, expressing in symbolic notation what appears to him to happen. There are two dangers: first, if his hypothesis brings him great success, the exaggerated praise of grown-ups, he may remain content to accept the symbol for the reality, a mistake not uncommon with older scientists and very common in the way we often accept word-symbols without grasping the reality for which they stand; secondly, if his hypothesis brings him disconcerting failure, the ridicule of grown-ups, he may lose his enterprise both as a scientific and as an

artistic thinker. Interest in the sun having been revealed, we ought to feed it in two ways: the artistic by quoting literary descriptions, the scientific by reading scientific descriptions; and all without any suggestion that one is wrong and the other right. Each attitude is equally natural to children, as it is to all people who are fully human.

We have tended to underestimate the scientific interest of young children; it is really a safety catch that prevents them from losing touch with rationality by reminding them continually of the symbolic nature of their beautiful conceptions. At a later stage we are, in this scientific age, in danger of underestimating their artistic interest. Both can and should be kept alive. Darwin towards the end of his life tells us how much he regretted the atrophy of his taste for poetry, pictures and music. 'If I had to live my life again,' he writes, 'I would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week.'¹

Anne Treneer has described very vividly the lack of creativeness in general and the paucity of imaginative creativeness in particular. 'We seem to be following men down the road to perdition,' she writes, 'doing what we are told, thinking what is expected, and perceiving what others perceive. We shall soon be blessed fellows to whom the sun looks like a guinea. We are forgetting Blake. He said: "What, it will be questioned, when the sun rises, do you not see a round disc of fire somewhat like a Guinea? O no, no, no. I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty."' ²

On the other hand, Lord Samuel has pointed out how, owing to the fertility of man's imagination, 'human thought is always in danger of being choked by its own luxuriance.' He warns us against accepting fictional abstractions as if they were realities;

¹ Charles Darwin, *An Autobiographical Chapter* (Murray, 1908), p. 51.

² Anne Treneer, *Cornish Years* (Cape, 1949), p. 201.

the Russians, for example, believe that they are under the sway of a mythical entity called history; until recently, the Japanese worshipped an emperor descended from a Sun-goddess; thousands of our own countrymen seriously study the writings of astrologers in newspapers. 'Man should become more fully aware of his own creativity, as a fact of prime importance in his affairs; but should beware of it also, for it may lead him, and constantly does lead him, into disaster.'¹ We need the light of art to reveal truth that is otherwise invisible, but we need equally the light of science to save us from superstition and, in the conditions of today, from starvation. As in so many aspects of life it is a question of balanced development, and it follows that we ought to give all children the fullest possible scope for both artistic and scientific expression of their creative spirit. A fully human attitude to life is artistic, scientific and ultimately religious; its cultivation depends on both an imaginative and a rational response—on the response of the whole personality.

We have moved a long way from the manifestations of the creative spirit in young children. These manifestations are beacons that can lead us, if we are humble enough to learn, to appreciate the wonderful potentialities of human beings. Children delight in creative expression of two kinds: artistic and scientific, imaginative and rational. Springing from their own simple efforts they feel the need for adult help and guidance. The problem is to give this help and guidance at the right moment and without undermining their sense of security. It demands a revolution in our attitude to children's so-called mistakes. It calls for insight into the nature of children as persons, so that we time our help and guidance wisely and proffer it with a light touch without any 'gesture of interference.'

We now know that technique in the three Rs can be devel-

¹ Viscount Samuel, *Creative Man* (Cresset Press, 1949).

oped without quenching the creative spirit of children, and technique in art without interfering with their artistic vision. We believe that it is possible to help people to develop a scientific attitude to nature without interfering with their artistic attitude. The problem is to educate them so that they freely take what they need from authorities of all kinds—for example, from physical education experts, makers of literature, music, science, mathematics; and so that they consolidate what they take, if necessary, by repetition. It is a delicate process, especially with children, for it should all be done without interfering with their own creative spirit. We can only guide and help other people by the faith that is in us, and the process calls for humility and not cocksureness. It cannot be learnt from psychological text-books, though these may help. It depends ultimately on personal relationships—in families, schools and society—relationships, founded on love and humility, that create an atmosphere of confidence and security.

The Creative Spirit and Social Development

Another question now arises; is it possible that children have creative potentialities for the art of social living as for other less difficult arts? Before we can answer it we must ask ourselves whether we give them the right kind of physical and social environment. It may be that we sometimes frustrate their social development because in present classroom and housing conditions we feel it necessary to pounce heavily on their behaviour mistakes as we used to pounce on their mistakes in perspective and grammar. Furthermore we often fall short of our professed standards in our behaviour towards children; we command them not to argue in the same breath we are using to 'arg' them (p. 185). We know little about the possibilities of the natural development of social behaviour in children, but when our relationships with them are truly personal there is much that they can and do teach us. Observation of children in a

nursery school—their freedom, self-discipline, busy-ness and their happy community life—gives striking evidence that children in a suitable environment have creative potentialities for the art of living as we know they have for the arts of picture-making, movement, drama and verbal composition.

Some children aged eight to twelve were once given the opportunity to describe the qualities they would most like to see in their parents. Here are their views, translated into grown-up language, in the order of frequency with which they were mentioned:

Parents:

1. Should never quarrel in front of their children.
2. Should love all their children equally.
3. Should not tell their children lies.
4. Should forgive one another.
5. Should be good companions to their children.
6. Should treat their children's friends as respected guests in the home.
7. Should always answer questions and never say 'Don't bother me.'
8. Should not blame or punish their children in front of children from next door.
9. Should concentrate on their children's good points.
10. Should be constant in mood and affection.

Children can be equally revealing about teachers. The method of direct inquiry, however, is neither suitable nor reliable. Indirect methods are much preferable, and the following, devised by two headmasters, is a good example:

They told children, aged 7 to 11, a story of a boy who was unhappy at one school, and then happy at another to which he was transferred when his father moved on getting a new job. The children then wrote descriptions of the two teachers as they imagined them.

The qualities they mentioned most frequently are shown in the following table :

<i>Quality</i>	<i>No. of children who mentioned it</i>	<i>Examples of the remarks indicating the quality</i>
1. Kindness, affection and sympathetic understanding	88	<i>Frequent remarks:</i> No grumbling, never tells us off, does not shout or bawl. <i>Other remarks:</i> Not rude to us, speaks nicely, soft voice, stands for a joke, talks to us like a mother, not spiteful, patient in all ways, not hasty, good humour, not miserable, happy, no favourites or pets, gives us sweets.
(a) Does not inflict punishment (particularly corporal punishment)	37	Does not give us the cane, does not hit us, does not keep us in, does not stand us in the corner, does not send us to headmaster or out of the class. I would like to put 10 ton of gunpowder in the cane factory and blow the whole lot sky-high.
(b) Gives help and encouragement	18	Asked for especially in arithmetic, e.g., when Mary got her sums wrong her teacher wasn't angry, she just said, 'Oh, never mind, Mary, you just have another try and you might get it right this time.' Says things clear so that we would be able to understand.
2. Respect for children's desires, in lessons and school life	89	Gives lessons we want and like (the following are frequently mentioned: acting plays, handwork, drawing, painting, physical training and sports). Allows us to be monitor: lets us do things for her: lets us come up early: allows us to stay up at playtime: lets us talk: takes us out for walks.

- | | | |
|--|----|---|
| 3. Attractive appearance (clothes and personal features) | 19 | Mentioned mostly by ten-year-old girls; dress often described in detail.
She dresses very nicely but if she didn't she would look very ugly: she is very clever. |
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Human Potentialities

A study of the creative spirit in children helps to give us a vision of the great potentialities of human beings. We are proud, and justly so, of the results of education in Britain but, if we are honest, as we compare our own creativeness with that of little children, as we look at many men and women in bus and train, we dare not be complacent.

The Man in the Street

I am the unnoticed, the unnoticeable man:
The man who sat on your right in the morning train:
The man you looked through like a windowpane:
The man who was the colour of the carriage, the colour of the
mounting
Morning pipe-smoke.

I am the man too busy with a living to live,
Too hurried and worried to see and smell and touch:
The man who is patient too long and obeys too much
And wishes too softly and seldom.

I am the man they call the nation's backbone,
Who am boneless—playable catgut, pliable clay:
The Man they label Little lest one day
I dare to grow.

I am the rails on which the moment passes,
The megaphone for many words and voices:
I am graph, diagram,
Composite face.

I am the led, the easily-fed,
The tool, the not-quite fool,
The would-be-safe-and-sound,
The uncomplaining, bound,
The dust fine-ground,
Stone-for-a-statue waveworn pebble-round.

A. S. J. TESSIMOND

But we need not be downhearted; we may have far to go but, despite all setbacks, we have clearly made great progress in the art of nurturing creative men and women. We have reached a point where we realize that it can only be done in the free and confident atmosphere of true communities, and that in such an atmosphere the possibilities of human development—physical, spiritual, social and academic—pass all our present understanding.

We have been contemplating an ideal. Various conceptions of the ideal are held by different people, and they call it by different names, for example: the Christian ideal, the democratic ideal, the humanistic ideal. But, however faulty and imperfect our vision may be, we believe that it is the ideal towards which life has been evolving for millions of years. Man has been consciously struggling towards it for many centuries, and he is destined to struggle for many more. When in our day-to-day work we are tempted to despair let us remember that, in the words of Emerson, 'the years teach much that the days never know.' And, to quote Lord Samuel,¹ 'When we pass from the years to the centuries, and from the centuries to the whole expanse of man's story—out of chaos into life, from animal life into humanity, and on into civilization; when we see man in his cosmic setting, the latest child of a universe wedded to an eternity; his thought transcending matter, seeking Deity—then there is no room for an ignoble despair; rather will our minds be filled with awestruck wonder, our hearts with thankfulness.'

¹ *Creative Man*, p. 25.

SUMMARY

In the past educationists have under-valued the creative spirit and over-valued the routine spirit.

Many modern trends in education have as their aim the liberation of the creative spirit. In a stimulating environment—physical and social—children have revealed that they have great potentialities for creative work: in art, drama, movement and writing, in the study of environment and in the art of social living.

The routine spirit manifests itself at the extremes in two kinds of repetition: hypnotically compulsive and creatively purposeful.

In ordinary life, most activities contain in varying proportions three elements: creative elements and routine elements of two kinds—purely passive repetition and repetition that is actively purposeful.

Passive repetition has little direct educational value, but in the form of fixed routine it may be useful because it sets people free for activities that are more creative.

Purposeful repetition is enjoyable if it is accompanied by a sense of progress, of increasing mastery, for it then subserves creative impulses and helps to keep the creative spirit alive.

It is important, nevertheless, to try to keep alive the creative spirit, in its artistic, scientific and social manifestations, in the face of the many factors in modern life that encourage passivity. Education today, with its emphasis on freedom, on creative work that is enjoyed, and on learning with insight rather than on learning by rote without understanding or purpose, has a valuable contribution to make.

The creative spirit of children, when they are happily free, has many striking manifestations. The temptation to make exaggerated claims, however, should be resisted: few children are potential geniuses.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION,
CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

Story of a School, Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 14 (H.M.S.O., 1949); *An Experiment in Education*, S. Marshall (Camb.U.P., 1963)

Discussion topics. 1. *The creative spirit: a human attribute.* 'All creatures express an exuberant vitality within the limits of certain unities, orders and forms. Animal existence exhibits a uniform and resolute will to survive. . . . Human existence is obviously distinguished from animal life by its qualified participation in creation.' R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*.

'In the safety of the world behind my eyes, where the inspector shade cannot see, I pictured the infant room as one widening crater, loud with the sound of erupting creativity. . . . I see the mind of a five-year-old as a volcano with two vents, destructiveness and creativeness. And I see that to the extent that we widen the creative channel we atrophy the destructive one.' Sylvia Ashton-Warner in a novel, *Spinster*.

2. *Is it possible to avoid crushing the creative spirit?* 'The mind of the educator is torn by two conflicting forces: the desire zealously to watch and control the pupil's growth and direct his evolution along the course that seems quickest and surest for his complete development; and, on the other hand, the fear that he may kill fertile seeds, stifle with presumptuous interference the spontaneous life of the spirit in its personal impulses, and clothe the individual with a garment that is not adapted for him,—crush him under the weight of a leaden cape.' Giovanni Gentile, *The Reform of Education*.

In trying to resolve these conflicting forces it is helpful to reflect that personal relationships can help to keep the creative spirit alive in most unpromising circumstances.

'No factory and no office is so abandoned by creation that a creative glance could not fly up from one working-place to another, from desk to desk, a sober and brotherly glance which guarantees the reality of creation which is happening.' M. Buber, *Between Man and Man*.

3. *The importance of keeping the creative spirit alive.* 'The main task of our time is to turn man himself, now a helpless mechanical puppet, into a wakeful and willing creator.' Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

'Boredom is the disease of minds in which the creative impulse has been atrophied, and for which sensation is the only drug. It is in this hotbed of restlessness and boredom that the seeds of war germinate.' L. T. C. Rolt, *High Horse Riderless*.

'If work in the sense of breadwinning means machine minding, work that is the making of a man must be done in leisure from breadwinning. Leisure must become the most strenuous part of life, a tonic rather than a sedative.' C. Reaveley and J. Winnington, *Democracy and Industry*.

4. *Can a person develop both artistic and scientific interests?* 'In his youth the born poet often wavers between science and literature; and his choice is determined by the chance attraction of one or other of the alternative modes of expressing his imaginative joy in nature. It is essential to keep in mind that science and poetry have the same root in human nature. Forgetfulness of this fact will ruin, and is ruining, our educational system.' A. N. Whitehead, *Essays in Science and Philosophy*.

5. *The importance of being true to oneself.* 'By the time we come of age, so far from having learnt to possess our souls, most of us have mislaid our identities. "Nothing is more rare in any man", says Emerson, "than an act of his own". And Oscar Wilde, in quoting the remark with approval, neatly adds, "Most people are other people. Their thoughts are someone else's opinions, their lives a mimicry, their passions a quotation." ' L. J. Barnes, *The Outlook for Youth Work*.

'The true aristocrat in any age and in any country is he whose behaviour is most fully personal. The authority for what he does is his own, not derived: he identifies himself with his actions, takes full responsibility for their consequences, and, so to speak, authenticates them.' M. V. C. Jeffreys, *Glaucon*.

'People always fancy that we must become old to become wise, but in truth, as years advance, it is hard to keep ourselves as wise as we were.' Goethe, from *Conversations of Goethe*, Johann Eckermann, tr. John Oxenford.

'Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.'

William Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality*.

'Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' St. Matthew, xviii. 3.

6. *Creative work involves suffering.* 'The pain of the artist, of all creative workers, exists solely because of the perfection one contemplates. . . . It can be cancelled at once by rejecting the vision. But the vision, wholly without biological necessity, is a gift of the gods: to cancel it would be to cancel what life has now come to mean. We freely prefer to pay its price, which is the acceptance of pain. . . . And if one hopes, it is because of a

value that is hoped for; for one could not hope unless he also loved. . . . And therefore, whether in this sphere of things or in a sphere transcending that of nature, I am justified in denying tragedy the last word: I may retain the *will to suffer in creating* that which I love.' W. E. Hocking, in *This is my Philosophy*, ed. Whit Burnett.

7. *The nature of creative activity.* 'The apple in the summer garden and grave moon overhead are surely as unlike in their movements as two things can be. Newton traced in them two expressions of a single concept, gravitation: and the concept (and the unity) are in that sense his free creation. . . . Science is nothing else than the search to discover unity . . . in the variety of our experience. Poetry, painting, the arts are the same search, in Coleridge's phrase, for unity in variety. . . .

'The creative act is alike in art and in science; but it cannot be identical in the two; there must be a difference as well as a likeness. For example, the artist in his creation surely has open to him a dimension of freedom which is closed to the scientist. . . .

'In the act of creation, a man brings together two facets of reality and, by discovering a likeness between them, suddenly makes them one. . . . And the spectator who is moved by the finished work of art or the scientific theory re-lives the same discovery; his appreciation also is a re-creation.' J. Bronowski, *Science and Human Values*.

8. *The detection and cultivation of creative persons.* 'Educational psychologists have of late woken up to the fact that the kind of examinations and intelligence tests which they habitually employ tend to select the efficient learner and the verbal reasoner rather than intuitive observers or constructive and critical thinkers.' Professor Sir Cyril Burt in Foreword to *The Act of Creation*, A. Koestler.

The creative spirit, 'the emotive games of the unconscious', should be given the fullest possible scope in all branches of education: physical, scientific, artistic and social.

'The traditional method of confronting the student not with the problem but with the finished solution, means depriving him of all excitement, to shut off the creative impulse, to reduce the adventure of mankind to a dusty heap of theorems.

'Art is a form of communication which aims at eliciting a re-creative echo. Education should be regarded as an art, and use the appropriate techniques of art to call forth that echo. . . . For man cannot inherit the past; he has to re-create it.' A. Koestler, *The Act of Creation*.

10

BACKWARDNESS

WHEN we think of backwardness we think first of children being backward in school work. It is however a much broader topic, and today we are concerned about the backwardness of whole nations, as well as of a small section of children in schools. Moreover, we do well to remind ourselves that everyone, however advanced he may be in general education, is without exception backward in some ways. Educationists particularly should observe the skilled and often dangerous work being done by men and women who have never passed a public examination. We and all members of the community are deeply indebted to these workers, and it is right that we should sometimes think on these things and be humble.

More than thirty years ago, Burt defined backward children as 'all those who in the middle of their school career would be unable to do the work of the class next below that which is normal for their age'. At that time the work of a class of ten-year-olds was thought of chiefly in terms of the three Rs: reading, writing, and arithmetic. The other branches of the curriculum were still thought of and sometimes referred to as 'the frills', and we had hardly begun to think very seriously of the educative influence of the social climate of schools in helping children to do one of the most important things in life—to live happily with other people. To this day when we talk of backwardness we are usually thinking in terms of three-R attainments. The broadening conception of the work of schools reminds us however that there are other forms of backwardness.

And when we look beyond children in schools to the adults in the world (ourselves included), we see much evidence of backwardness that is more fundamentally important than three-R backwardness.

Varieties of Fundamental Backwardness

An individual may be backward in developing muscular skill: we call him clumsy. He may be backward in developing social skill; very often, particularly in so-called clever people, this form of backwardness exists unrecognized, and it is only when it passes from social backwardness into a third kind, moral backwardness, that it is clearly recognized in our language. We then call these backward people rude or unruly, and in more extreme cases delinquent, immoral, criminal, amoral. Their behaviour is overtly anti-social, and it is also at variance with their own natures as human beings. Apart from these overtly anti-social people, many are very backward in the art of cultivating personal relationships. They lack a sense of reverence for persons and they may be more dangerous, especially if they happen to be in positions of authority, than those who as children were ascertained by conventional methods to be educationally sub-normal. Fourthly, a person may be backward in developing aesthetic skill and sensitivity. The fact that we have no special word for this form of backwardness indicates how undeveloped we are as a nation in our attitude to aesthetic development; ugliness leaves many people quite unmoved. This kind of backwardness is well illustrated by the story of a young woman who was taken to see a bluebell wood: she looked at it, she listened patiently to her enthusiastic friend trying to express her feelings, and then came her bored response, 'I see nowt in a bit of blue.' The three forms of backwardness—in social, moral and aesthetic development—have this in common: they are all examples of backwardness in spiritual sensitivity. Fifthly, a person, even an intelligent per-

son, may be backward in acquiring knowledge and using it to develop skill in thinking: he is at the mercy of all the propaganda he hears and reads, and a slave to his own irrational prejudices.

These fundamentally serious forms of backwardness—in the development of muscular, social and thinking skills, and in spiritual development which manifests itself in moral, aesthetic and social sensitivity and in religious insight—are closely interconnected. In a simpler form of society many people developed in all these ways naturally, in the single whole process of community living. In the village community craftsmen often developed muscular skill in their daily work to such a high degree that they had energy left over which found expression in the creation of beauty; many of their jobs set them real problems demanding skill in thinking; they had a feeling of belonging to their community, a sense of the social value of their work and of the spiritual value of life. In parish church or village chapel their simple philosophy of life, already in tune with accepted cultural standards, attitudes and beliefs, was fortified and consolidated. Their community life was itself educative, and many villagers grew up to a muscular, social, aesthetic, thinking, moral, spiritual maturity that is often lacking among people in an industrialized society. Professional educationists are beginning to be conscious of these facts: the fact that education, with all its techniques of teaching the three Rs and factual knowledge, has not by any means made good the losses people have suffered in the change from village to urban life; the fact that medical science by itself cannot guarantee bodily health if only because a healthy body needs a mind able to enjoy its daily bread of beauty and good fellowship; the fact that boys and girls may be able to pass standardized tests of attainments and even an examination for the General Certificate of Education in several subjects, and yet be backward in important ways which, added together, amount to nothing less than backward-

ness in life itself. The time to test for real backwardness of this kind is in the twenties and thirties, not at ten, or in the teens, and certainly not at the age of seven. Observation of grown-ups at the reputedly mature age of twenty and over reveals the real problem of backwardness. It is the problem of 'loungers through existence', of men and women bored and disillusioned with life, of old people who have become unnecessarily difficult to live with, of masses of people more dead than alive, physically, mentally and spiritually. It shows itself in the money spent on drink, tobacco and patent medicines, in class and national suspicion and hatred, in widespread petty dishonesty, in the excessive popularity of many forms of gambling, in the public taste in films and newspapers, in the small percentage of voters in many elections, and, as experience in the services in the last war revealed, in widespread illiteracy among adult men and women.

Illiteracy: A Symptom of Fundamental Backwardness

In a country that already has a comprehensive service of education, this is the right way of looking at the problem of illiteracy, not as a kind of backwardness *per se*, but as a symptom of a fundamental kind of backwardness—in the art of living in a complex society.

The British Army found in the 1940s that between 1 and 2 per cent of its recruits were totally illiterate, that is to say, they were unable to read a simple form or write their names. This discovery came as a shock after seventy years of organized education. However, in order to get the fact in perspective it is necessary to compare it with the degree of total illiteracy in other countries. It is only in Britain, in the countries of Northern Europe and in Canada that illiteracy is as low as 1 per cent. In 1950 it was estimated to be 22 per cent in Italy, 23 in Spain, 31 in Bulgaria, 49 in Portugal, 56 in China, 57 in Brazil, and 91 in India. (*The United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, 1950, and

Basic Facts and Figures, Unesco, 1952.) It is estimated that about three quarters of the people of the world are today totally illiterate. Illiteracy on this scale is a symptom of the gravity of the problem of fundamental backwardness for, as Sir Julian Huxley says in the Unesco report, *Fundamental Education* (1947), p. 45, it is 'not only a threat to peace and security, none the less real because indirect, but also a barrier and a challenge to science and culture'.

This world problem is not merely a problem of elementary education, that is, of teaching people directly to read, write and calculate; it is a problem of fundamental education. The distinction is one of first-class importance, and a similar distinction should be made between fundamental backwardness and backwardness in the three-R skills.

As the Unesco report points out, the problem is one of moving the minds of men by new ideas, of stirring their hearts by new affections, of enlisting their wills to establish a new human unity. It certainly involves raising the standard of literacy of the common man for in a modern democracy there is no room for illiterates. It may involve 'some loss that is regrettable—of simplicity, steadiness, and loyalty—but fundamental education is still an inevitable process, which may lead in the end, if it is wisely directed, to the retention of much of the good in the old way of living, as well as some mastery of the science, the technology, and the wider perspective of the new'. This argument does not in any way belittle the seriousness of illiteracy; it puts illiteracy in its right perspective as one of the symptoms of a more fundamental kind of backwardness. Literacy, important though it is, is not enough; we need a new 'act in the drama of human evolution'—fundamental education to promote a world democracy, to form a 'groundwork for a new way of living.' If we need evidence to clinch this argument we have only to reflect on the experience of Germany, one of the most highly literate countries of the world, in the 1930s; there can surely be

no more convincing proof of the fact that 'any process of education which is not founded upon spiritual values may ultimately destroy human virtue.'

It may be thought that the basis of the above argument—the fundamental backwardness of grown-up men and women both in this country and in the world at large—is theoretical, and that in practice we must make, as a first step in fundamental education, a direct, frontal attack on illiteracy. The answer is that this method is apt to fail. It has failed with adults in India. Here is testimony written in 1946:

In India we have to emancipate ourselves from the idea that the main object of adult education is to make adults literate. The result of this idea has been that we have neither an effective system of adult education, nor have we succeeded in making any but an infinitesimal proportion of adults literate. . . . Let us bring first the full programme of adult education, to which teaching to read and write is incidental, and . . . we shall achieve a far greater success even in the matter of literacy. . . . Direct attempts to bring literacy . . . will never give the creative inspiration which is lacking at present. . . . The achievement of adult literacy is the result of a change in the spirit of men and women. We are working as though we thought it could be the cause.¹

The direct method has failed in Britain too, for, on the basis of Army experience, we cannot escape the conclusion that at least 1 per cent of the population is totally illiterate. That, however, is not the most serious fact in the findings of the Army. In addition to the totally illiterate, it found that from 15 to 20 per cent of its recruits were functionally illiterate, that is, they were unable to write a simple letter and make out the meaning of a paragraph in a popular newspaper.² Investigation revealed a number of reasons for this illiteracy: ill-health in childhood; lack of parental control; nomadic occupations of parents;

¹ W. M. Ryburn, *Creative Education* (Orient Longmans, 1946), pp. 80–2.

² M. M. Lewis, *Language in Society* (Nelson, 1947), p. 54.

unsuitable teachers; undetected physical handicaps such as defective hearing.

Burt concludes that in the 1940s, two or three hundred thousand of the adult population of England and Wales were completely, and about three millions functionally, illiterate. It is difficult to believe that most of these three millions were functionally illiterate when they left school; many of them, those of low intelligence, no doubt slipped back into illiteracy during adolescence. They had but a precarious hold on literacy at the age of fourteen, and, more important, they lacked the interest and inspiration to maintain and develop the skill they had. Some of them, moreover, had gained from school and from the traditions of their social group an aversion from books, 'a certain bibliophobia which,' says Lewis, 'not only has roots deep in the past—the ancient fear of the written word—but also draws some nourishment from a more recent tradition of inverted class-snobbery.' 'It is evident,' he adds, 'that the development and maintenance of literacy throughout a society are more complex than may at first appear. Deterioration through disuse, the traditions of the customary behaviour of the group, and resistance therefore to change, all work in opposition to the incentives—strong though these may be—of the functions of reading and writing for the individual in society.'¹

When the problem of backwardness is seen in its true perspective the hollowness of some criticisms of modern teaching methods can be appreciated. Literacy, complete and permanent, never was and never will be achieved by a policy of grinding at the three Rs as a preparation for more advanced work. Such a policy springs from an incomplete philosophy of life and education. It is philosophy of this kind that leads a skilful teacher of a backward class to concentrate too exclusively on the development of an elaborate technique of teaching the three Rs with a large variety of ingenious apparatus; he would prob-

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 56.

ably get even better results, and almost certainly more permanent results, if he began by arranging a fundamentally new curriculum that would inspire his pupils to want to master the essential elementary skills. The best approach to the problem of eliminating illiteracy is by stimulating the creative spirit of children. Put literacy first; illiteracy often follows. Put fundamental education first; literacy, complete and permanent, will develop as one of its integral elements. This doctrine was confirmed by experience with illiterates in the Army Basic Education Centres. It was found that little could be done until tongues had been loosened, that the approach to instruction in the three Rs must be human rather than scholastic, and that the instruction was most effective when it was woven into a broad programme of activities.

Many teachers are trying to give fundamental education of this kind in schools today. It is a gallant attempt, often in difficult school and social conditions, to solve the problem of both fundamental and three-R backwardness. It is necessary, however, to face the fact that there is no ground for complacency about the three-R results that schools are achieving. It does not need any scientific investigation to prove that an excessively large number of pupils are leaving school with a very precarious hold on the elementary skills of reading, writing and calculation, and it is necessary to ask ourselves frankly whether education today is reducing the number of total and functional illiterates as fast as it ought. The extension of school life to sixteen, the provision of special educational treatment for all who need it, and the provision of part-time education in county colleges with a comprehensive scheme of further education to follow, could make important contributions to the problem. But these projected reforms do not absolve us from the duty of reviewing what is being done now, both in primary and in the early years of secondary education, to solve the problem of three-R backwardness.

Action Research in Fundamental Education

Action research in the field proved its worth in the services during the war; it is being used today in industry to increase productivity. It is urgently needed in the field of fundamental education. Some research of this kind has been done into the bearing of modern methods on the problem of backwardness. The results of these methods, so far as fundamental backwardness is concerned, proved to be favourable. For example, the children in the experimental schools were found to be superior in the following qualities to those in the control schools that used formal methods:

ingenuity and inventiveness; the power of oral expression; self-confidence and confidence in a strange adult; willingness to invite or accept another child into a group; acquiescing in another child's suggestion; contributing willingly to the work of a group even in some cases by accepting a less attractive role; helping or advising another child constructively; taking a friendly interest in another child's occupation.¹

It was also found that the richer opportunities for first-hand experience in the experimental schools promoted in children the capacity to concentrate, even on an uninteresting task, for some ends other than their own.

The results in the three Rs were also favourable. In the ability to write quickly and neatly, the children in the experimental schools were distinctly superior at the age of seven and eight although inferior at the age of six; at the age of eight they were superior in written composition. There was no significant difference between experimental and control groups in the ability to do simple sums, in spelling and punctuation, and at ages seven and eight in reading ability. The lack of practice in arithmetic in the experimental schools was found to be the most severe handicap.

¹ D. E. M. Gardner, *Testing Results in the Infant School* (Methuen, 1942), p. 137.

Dangers of Premature Teaching

An interesting finding was that the 'capacity of young children to do neat work seems to be bound up with the question of maturation rather than of practice.' Much backwardness, both of the fundamental and the three-R varieties, is almost certainly manufactured by anxiety to get results prematurely, by vain attempts to force the pace. Premature teaching is one of the major pedagogic sins. It is in part due to the lag of a tradition necessarily forged when most children had to leave school at thirteen or earlier with little or no hope of further education; the tradition was consolidated by the national educational policy of secondary education for the privileged few who at the early age of ten survived a severe competition in English and arithmetic. Premature teaching is in part due to the spirit of a mechanical age in which speed is worshipped; teachers whose function it is to foster the growth of children need to recapture something of the spirit of rural workers:

It was right that to them life should move at its regular pace. . . . The cattle did not understand speed; their lives were ordered by the passing of the seasons, their movements attuned to the growth of herbage. . . . This the farmer and his men understood, for the principle regulated their lives. . . . No effort of theirs could advance the day for the hay or corn harvest, or bring roots to maturity before their proper month. The regularity of life came of conforming to nature's laws; it was . . . a life separate and secure, always immune from the eager troubles that worried tradesfolk.¹

Many earnest teachers, and parents too, are worried by the eager troubles of getting results in education too quickly. And for the same reason some pupils of at least average ability grow up unable to do arithmetic and disinclined ever to read a book.

¹ Walter Rose, *Good Neighbours* (Cambridge University Press, 1942).

Teaching Methods: Old and New

It must be admitted that a policy of learning by experience in accordance with the principles of natural growth is not without its dangers. The newer methods, with their wider aims, are more difficult to use successfully than the older, more formal methods. They call for able and well-qualified teachers, in present conditions for teachers of quite exceptional insight and devotion. It is too much to expect that they can be immediately adopted with success by all teachers; many minor mistakes will be made by over-zealous pioneers, and many major ones by reluctant recruits who adopt the methods not from conviction but in order to be fashionably up to date. For universal success the new policy requires at least three important reforms: classes in infants' and junior schools must be reduced to thirty, and for the less able children to still smaller numbers; teachers in junior schools must be prepared to teach the elements of reading to some pupils—those whose progress in the infants' schools has been naturally slow; secondary schools must be provided with attractive books on important topics written in the simplest language.

In a time of revolutionary changes in schools (they reflect in many ways changes in society) situations calling for tact and discretion are bound to arise. It is necessary to be more than ordinarily aware that the best is often the enemy of the good. It is wrong to force the pace of changes in methods of instruction and discipline without regard either to adverse physical conditions or to the sincere resistances (often unconscious in origin) of many good and experienced teachers. There is a risk of some lowering of three-R standards if informal methods are used by teachers who do not fully understand them and who deep down do not believe in them, but who feel obliged to accept authoritative suggestions or authoritarian instructions. Many teachers must be weaned away gradually from the methods they have used for years and which, although on a

relatively narrow front, they have used with success. It is necessary to remember that time is a better ally than argument when deep-seated psychological resistances have to be overcome, and that some teachers of fine character, using very formal methods, are giving, almost incidentally, fundamental education of high value. Activities and projects are not magical keys to the learning process; teachers using them need sensitive insight in order to seize at the right moment the opportunities they create for learning the three Rs and for acquiring systematic knowledge. It is necessary to recognize that the older methods have some virtues, a fact that zealous pioneers sometimes overlook; there is, for example, a place for good oral teaching and drill among the activities of progressive schools, and in special circumstances, they may for a time need strong emphasis.

Such tactical moves should however be made within a scheme of sound educational strategy. Education today needs strategists as well as tacticians, philosophers as well as practitioners; and they are to be found in all ranks of the profession. Their function is to help us all to recognize that pupils may be advanced in the three Rs and yet be backward in fundamental education, that is to say, backward in the development of aesthetic, muscular, social and thinking skills, of moral resolution, of spiritual sensitivity. When we get a vision of this kind of education and of its great potentialities—for developing group participation, leadership, respect for genuine authority, personal relationships and human freedoms, for helping everyone to live an abundant life inspired by supreme human values, and ultimately for making a contribution to the ideal of world peace—we shall be on the way to overcome our resistances to much-needed changes in school curricula and teaching methods. We shall be on the way to achieve that personal, psychological freedom which is necessary if we are to make a success of new approaches to education. This is the way to solve the problem of raising functional and total illiterates to complete and per-

manent literacy. And as we succeed we shall do much more: we shall raise the standard of fundamental education of the whole population.

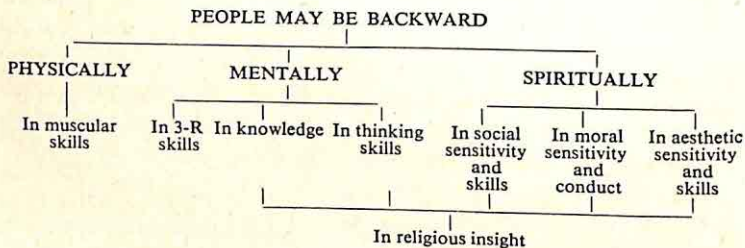
SUMMARY

There are two kinds of backwardness: in three-R attainments, and, more fundamental, in the art of living.

A person who is fundamentally backward is under-developed in one or more of a number of inter-connected ways: in aesthetic, muscular, social and thinking skills, moral resolution, spiritual sensitivity.

In a society which has a comprehensive service of education, three-R backwardness is generally a symptom of fundamental backwardness.

The best approach to the problem of eliminating three-R backwardness is by stimulating the creative spirit of children. There is nevertheless an important place in this kind of fundamental education for direct instruction and concentrated drill.



FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

The Language and Mental Development of Children, A. F. Watts (Harrap, 1944); *Language in Society*, M. M. Lewis (Nelson, 1947); *Long-term Results of Infant School Methods*, D. E. M. Gardner (Methuen, 1950); *The Importance of Illiteracy*, M. M. Lewis (Harrap, 1953); *Language*, Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 26 (H.M.S.O., 1954).

Discussion topics. 1. *Is the great concern about illiteracy today justified?* In his book on illiteracy Lewis inquires into the reasons—true and false—for this concern. One important reason, he concludes, is that literacy is urgently needed in contemporary life for the task of improving communication; the standards demanded are rising. Illiteracy is therefore a symptom of one kind of failure to meet the demands of modern society. The illiterate is a 'person whose mastery of the means of communication is less than society requires of him'.

2. *The problem of world illiteracy.* 'The amount of illiteracy in the world is "scandalous" both as a matter of conscience and for strict economic reasons through the prodigious squandering of intellectual energy. Estimates for 1957 showed that 700 million adults, or two-fifths of the world adult population, were illiterate, and the figures were rising by 20 to 25 million a year. . . . The collectivity of nations can, if it wishes, within one generation, reduce illiteracy to feeble proportions. . . . The question is to know if we really want it.' M. Maheu, acting Secretary-General of Unesco, Report in *The Times*, 30 October 1962.

3. *Is basic literacy enough?* 'The fact that illiteracy as it is normally measured has been largely removed only points towards the next and probably more difficult problem . . . a social change which takes advantage of and thrives on basic literacy.' R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*.

4. *The problem of moral backwardness.* 'I am, unfashionably, a believer in moral progress, and what I mean by moral progress is an increasing and active recognition of the fact that other human beings are as fully human as oneself. . . . The concept of "if I were you" is the fundamental moral concept. . . .

'There is much that is horribly wrong with our community, but we shall not put it right by indulging in fashionable social nostalgia. We need more active imagination, fuller recognition of each other's humanity: more love.' Philip Toynbee in *The Observer*, 23 December 1962.

5. *Who is 'a poor man'?* 'Soon he will not be the man without money . . . he will be the man who is deprived of experience of love, friendship or art.' George Buchanan in a letter to *The Times*, 12 October 1959.

' . . . even for the humblest person, a day spent without the sight or sound of beauty, the contemplation of mystery, or the search for truth and perfection is a poverty-stricken day.' Lewis Mumford, *The Condition of Man*.

11

THE EDUCATION SERVICE

IN England and Wales alone more than ten million pupils and students are today (1964) attending establishments specially designed and equipped for their education. These establishments (about 30,000 schools for primary and secondary education and 10,000 places of further education) are staffed by more than 350,000 teachers, and served by an army of ancillary workers. The foundations of this enormous organization were laid by a variety of people—philanthropists, church members, private school proprietors, parliamentary and local politicians, and by devoted teachers. The organization was not systematically planned from the beginning. It has grown, and during the past hundred years statesmen and parliamentary politicians have had to consider the recurring problem of how to make it more shapely and efficient to meet changing needs without being unjust to the intentions of pious benefactors and without destroying local freedoms. The results of their negotiations and discussions are to be seen in the Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1918 and 1944, in the amendments to the last Act which have already become necessary, and in the detailed arrangements made by local education authorities in order to put the decisions of Parliament into action.

The annual cost of education in England and Wales is today (1964) more than £1,000 million and when present plans for expansion are complete it will be much greater. Practically all this money comes from taxes and rates voted for by elected representatives sitting in Parliament and County Councils;

only a minute fraction comes from invested endowments and from fees paid by parents and students. The increasing responsibility of the State for the efficient education of the people has naturally been accompanied by some increase in the extent of its control. To give two examples: (a) the Education Act, 1944, makes provision for the first time for all independent schools to be registered, and before a school is finally registered the Minister responsible for education has power to cause the school to be inspected on his behalf (Section 70); (b) the Act prescribes as one of the duties of the Minister that he shall 'secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive service in every area' (Section 1).

Education: Service or System?

The keynote of the educational arrangements in Britain, unlike those in many other countries, is a varied service rather than a uniform system. Life and education are indivisible, and as Lewis Mumford has said in his book, *The Conduct of Life* (pp. 176-7),

Life cannot be reduced to a system: the best wisdom, when so reduced to a single set of insistent notes, becomes a cacophony: indeed, the more stubbornly one adheres to a system, the more violence one does to life. Actual historic institutions, fortunately, have been modified by anomalies, discrepancies, contradictions, compromises: the older they are, the richer this organic compost. All these varied nutrients that remain in the social soil are viewed with high scorn by the believer in systems. . . . He has no notion that what makes the soil usable and nourishing is precisely the organic debris that remains.

No tidy diagram can display all the details of the British education service. It is a loose, untidy organization, and especially in a time of change its untidiness creates difficult problems, for example: how to ensure that the service is compre-

hensive and efficient; how best to continue to use 'the rich organic compost' we have inherited from the past. Parliament in its wisdom has not attempted to solve these problems in any detail. The Education Act describes only the framework of a comprehensive service: education in three progressive stages—primary, secondary and further; special educational treatment for certain categories of pupils to be defined in regulations made by the responsible Minister; ancillary services such as medical inspection and treatment, and the provision of milk and meals; facilities for recreation and social and physical training; the provision of transport to facilitate the attendance of pupils at schools. The Act does not define standards of efficiency; it indicates only that efficient education should 'contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community'; each school is left free, subject to prescribed syllabuses for public examinations for pupils over the age of 16, to devise its own curriculum; the only school curriculum subject prescribed is religious instruction. The most important change introduced in the Act was the provision of secondary education for all, a service formerly provided only for a few privileged by birth or brains or both; but no details are prescribed—there is no reference, for example, to different types of secondary school.

There are nearly 4,000 independent schools in England and Wales; the Act recognizes that they are part of the national education service but it makes no provision for interfering with their autonomy subject to certain common-sense safeguards: the premises and accommodation must be adequate and suitable 'having regard to the number, ages, and sex of the pupils', the instruction must be 'suitable and efficient', the proprietor must be 'a proper person to be a proprietor of an independent school', and any teacher employed 'a proper person to be employed in any school'.

There are about 10,000 voluntary schools, most of them

established by the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. They also are included in the national education service, together with about 20,000 county schools provided by local education authorities. All the schools in this dual system are maintained; that is to say, the local education authorities, helped by grants from the Department of Education, pay the teachers' salaries and the costs of all the necessary books and equipment. They also pay for all the repairs and alterations to county school buildings, but the arrangements for voluntary school buildings are more complicated. There are two main categories of voluntary schools: aided and controlled. The governors of aided schools are responsible, with the help of a 75 per cent grant from the Department, for external repairs and alterations; local education authorities pay only for the internal repairs. All repairs and alterations to controlled schools are paid for by the local education authorities just as if they were county schools. The Act makes careful arrangements to enable voluntary schools to retain a large measure of autonomy although they are largely financed from public funds.¹

The universities are a unique feature of the education service for they are completely autonomous and are not subject to public inspection although they are largely financed from public funds; they receive grants direct from the Treasury made on the recommendation of an independent committee, the University Grants Committee, and they may also be assisted by local education authorities who are empowered to make grants to them 'for the purpose of improving the facilities for further education in their area'.

Teachers and Administrators

A headmaster in his school or a teacher in his classroom does not often stop to think in this way of the whole, immensely

¹ For details of these and other arrangements designed to make the dual system work smoothly see *Education Act, 1944*, Sections 9, 15, 17, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 102, and subsequent amending Acts.

varied, national education service of which schools and classrooms are parts. In one sense this attitude is justifiable, for the real service of education, to which he is devoting a large part of his life and energy, is given in the places where teacher and pupil meet; education in its essence is a mutual and intensely personal process. All the administrative machinery and details—the Education Act, the rules of local education committees, the decisions of governors, the letters and circulars of administrators—are a means to an end: the personal meeting of more than a quarter of a million individual teachers with ten million individual learners and with still more millions of individual parents. When we put the education service under the microscope in this way, we see its immense variety, and we realize that it is almost warrantable to use a much misused epithet and describe its variety as infinite.

But the attitude of teachers to the administration of education is not always justifiable. Absorbed in the fascinating and often exhausting work of educating persons, and occasionally irritated by letters from the education office and demands for forms to be completed, it is not unnatural for teachers to overlook how much they are indebted to the work of politicians and administrators, to forget how necessary the administrative machine is, if they are to be set free to do the kind of work for which they are professionally qualified, or, to give a homely example, if their salaries are to be credited promptly at the end of the month. It is easy for teachers to forget that the machinery of education has been created and is kept working by persons like themselves—devoted persons with good intentions and human failings. Moreover, it has been created very largely by the democratic processes of negotiation and discussion in a sincere effort to find the laws of total situations; and few persons, unless they have had experience in an education office, have any idea of the long hours of nervous strain and hard work that are involved, especially for chairmen of committees

and the senior officials who serve them. It is not unnatural for teachers to think of 'the Department of Education' and 'the education office' as impersonal institutions worthy of little more than patient tolerance, and, when they are extremely provoked, to give way even to contempt. If they think of the persons behind the administrative machine, they may be tempted to see doctrinaire politicians ready to use education for party political advantage; and to see power-loving bureaucratic administrators with little appreciation of the value and the difficulty of the work of teachers.

It is a common human failing to envy the other man, and to be hard on his short-comings especially if he is in a position of authority. Administrators sometimes think longingly of the long holidays and supposedly short hours of teachers, of their easy authority over pupils and their relative freedom from difficult committees and masses of correspondence; teachers sometimes long for the imagined peace of offices compared with the turmoil of classrooms. Administrators are sometimes irritated by what they call the lack of administrative sense of teachers; teachers are irritated by what they call the bureaucratic, soulless, dilatory methods of administrators.

Relationships in the Education Service

The education service is an immensely complex organization. Consider the endless opportunities there must be for ruffled feelings in relationships between the many pairs that can be made of people enumerated in the following list which, long though it is, is probably not exhaustive: parents, pupils, teachers, head teachers, principals, administrators (education, finance, supplies), architects, auditors, educational publishers, educational psychologists, employers in industry and commerce, inspectors, governors, librarians, members of education, youth employment and finance committees, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, school welfare officers, school

medical officers, youth employment officers, youth organizers. All these people, with very different outlooks, are members of the education service. They are in partnership, and each partner has his special function; each in his own sphere is necessary and should be accorded the status by the other partners that his special knowledge and function warrant. In our natural concern for our own status we may easily overlook the fact that others have a similar concern. To give only one example: most teachers, although there are many exceptions, know as little about the art of administration as administrators know about the art of teaching. If this fact were more clearly acknowledged by both parties, teachers would less often refer in a superior tone to '*mere* administrators', and administrators would be less tempted to speak impatiently of '*those* teachers'.

Speaking generally, however, the relationships between the various sections of the education service in Britain are good. There is a good deal of toleration and respect, and a recognition that all are partners in a vitally important service. Elected members generally, although there are exceptions, have a proper humility when considering the work of teachers; they do not seek to prescribe the curriculum or teaching methods, nor to dictate how a school should be organized. They are more often hard on suspected short-comings of administrators. This may be a good thing, for politicians, being sensitive to public opinion and the views of voters, are particularly well qualified to remind administrators dealing with rules and precedents that people also matter. On the other hand, when members are under wrongful pressure from constituents who imagine they have a grievance, administrators may have to remind them firmly of the rules that they, the members, have made and of the reasons for them.

The truth is that all human situations are complex, especially where people, involved in a common task which to them is extremely important, look at it from different viewpoints. No

good purpose would be served by trying to estimate which part of the education service has, in general and on balance, most to be said in its defence. In the detailed working of any large service, some grievances, irritations, disagreements, regrettable provocations, misunderstandings are inevitable in all its parts. If relationships are generally good, however, individuals are not tempted to magnify their troubles; they know that explanation and discussion will be welcomed, that with patience and good humour many problems can be solved, and that, where this is impossible, troubles become less burdensome as the law of the total situation becomes clearer.

Educationists have a special responsibility in these matters, for their fundamental purpose is to educate people in the art of living in communities. The education service as a whole should therefore be a shining example of a true community; and there is always room for improvement, no matter how completely the service may be permeated by sound ideas on the nature of freedom and authority, and on the importance of consultation, participation and leadership rather than dictation. There is moreover a continual need for active steps to maintain the general state of good relationships that has already been achieved, for, in a service involving millions, the annual turnover of teachers, parents, administrators and politicians must be reckoned in thousands, and, however good the service tradition may be, it should not be assumed that it is wholly self-perpetuating. In considering the problem of improving and maintaining personal relationships it is important to recognize that relationships are mutual—between pairs of service sections, and ultimately between pairs of individuals. No section should adopt a superior, self-satisfied attitude, looking for improvement only in the others. Improvements in relationships depend on generous and flexible attitudes towards the service sections to which we do not belong, and on more knowledge and understanding of their work. To give a few examples: the

service needs more politicians and parents with enlightened views on education, more administrators with human rather than bureaucratic outlooks, more inspectors with intuitive appreciation of the real possibilities of many different classroom situations, more teachers with the vision that enables them to see their own classroom, school and type of school in the context of the service as a whole. No persons in any section should be so thin-skinned that criticism always hurts them, or so thick-skinned that criticism never helps them.

The Importance of Good Communication

Good relationships between sections and individuals in the education service depend on good communication which is partly a question of the effective use of words and partly a question of attitude. For example, as we have suggested (p. 62), teachers should not be afraid of taking parents into their confidence and sharing information with them—sometimes even information of a technical kind. The same principle applies to the relationships between each pair of partners in the service, and indeed in all walks of life where persons live and work together. The sharing of information has long been recognized as an important factor in the cultivation of close friendships and happy homes, and its importance for productivity in factories and offices is now beginning to be appreciated. Nowhere is it more important than in the education service where so much obviously depends on good communication between many varied partners. No section can be wholly self-sufficient for each is an integral part of the whole service.

The sincere, generous, single-minded, unpatronizing sharing of information with those who relatively speaking are laymen, whether because their speciality is different or because their knowledge and experience are inferior, is an invaluable aid to the growth of mutual confidence. And mutual confidence is the essential basis of effective communication between persons

whose outlooks are widely different. This aspect of communication is so fundamental that it is important to get a clear understanding of the relativity of laymanship: a teacher may be a layman when discussing some administrative problems with an official and *vice versa*; a parent of a large family living in a slum is obviously a layman when discussing education with a head teacher, but the head teacher is in a real sense a layman when the parent is explaining some of her home problems; a politician is a layman when discussing education with an education officer, but the education officer may be the layman when the discussion turns to problems of public relations.

Arrangements for Improving Communication

In large groups, as we have noted, the art of cultivating personal relationships is difficult, and special arrangements are necessary to improve communication.¹ Committees and conferences are often used for this purpose. At the national level for example, the Education Act lays down that there shall be 'two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales and Monmouthshire . . . to advise the Minister upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit, and upon any questions referred to them by him'. From time to time the Minister also sets up *ad hoc* committees to advise him on special problems. At the local level, council members, governors, officers and teachers often consult together in conferences and committees, and in some areas there are Standing Joint Consultative Committees for this purpose. In complying with the requirement of the Education Act (First Schedule) that every education committee 'shall include persons of experience in education' some authorities co-opt teachers. Teachers on joining the service, from univer-

¹ A Communication Research Centre has been formed at University College, London. See *Studies in Communication*, A. J. Ayer *et al.* (Secker and Warburg, 1955)

sities and training colleges or from overseas under an interchange scheme, are generally given a personal welcome; in some areas an official reception is arranged for them at headquarters. Teachers' organizations arrange many social functions for their own members, and they are very generous in inviting committee members and officials.

One important committee, which meets at least once in every three months, is a body of local laymen (called 'managers' for primary schools and 'governors' for secondary schools)¹ set up for maintained schools in England and Wales in accordance with Section 17 of the Education Act, 1944. Their official functions are prescribed by the local education authority in documents called rules of management or articles of government. They may vary in detail, but they generally include, *inter alia*, selecting staff, authorizing minor improvements and repairs to school buildings, recommending major improvements, and, in consultation with the head teacher, exercising the oversight of the conduct and curriculum of the school. The interpretation of the vague word 'oversight' is best understood by noting what it does not include: the control of the conduct and curriculum, the internal organization, the management and discipline of the school, the choice of books, the methods of teaching, the supervision of staff. These are all functions of the head teacher. It is not possible, nor is it desirable, to attempt to give a positive and precise definition of 'oversight'. It is enough that experience has proved that overseeing governors, if they have clear ideas of what are *not* their functions and powers, can be very helpful to the smooth running of schools. They can help to keep schools in touch with local public opinion. A head teacher finds it a help, and sometimes a comfort, to take counsel with an officially constituted body of laymen.

¹ The chief difference between managers and governors is one of name only and the reason for the different names is historical. Before 1944 there were two main types of school: elementary schools with managers and secondary schools with governors. For convenience the word 'governor' only is used in this book.

He brings to them regular reports on the life of the school, on how it is running and on its needs; he talks over with them his proposals for important changes in the conduct and curriculum of the school, especially those that are concerned with the ends or purposes of education; he may occasionally be glad to get their advice and support on problems caused by awkward people, and perhaps enlist the help of the chairman in dealing with a particularly unreasonable parent. Governors, as a body in governors' meetings and as individuals on informal visits, can be a valuable link in the chain of two-way communication between schools and the public whom they serve and to whom most schools belong.

Committees, conferences, deputations, social functions: they are all valuable means of improving communication, but they have obvious limitations. They take up much time, and they bring only a few persons out of thousands into direct personal communication. Their influence nevertheless spreads widely, and individual teachers, although they may not happen to come into direct communication with persons from headquarters, are helped to feel that they belong, not to an impersonal machine but to a service in which everyone counts as a person. Something has been achieved if a young teacher has an early opportunity of at least seeing the education officer, for otherwise he might in a large service know him for years only as a rubber-stamp signature on letters and documents and almost come to doubt whether he has a real existence. Much has been achieved if teachers feel that they belong to a service in which, if only through their representatives, the views of teachers are sincerely welcomed and considered.

Written Communication

In any large service a great deal of communication must be made in writing. Some authorities try to keep teachers well informed on administrative affairs by circulating a bulletin at

regular intervals. Some teachers treat it as not being worth even a rapid skimming except for advertised vacancies; such an attitude indicates a lack of appreciation of the importance of communication, and for once the fault does not lie with the office. Sometimes, however, letters and circulars from the office are disturbers of good relationships.

Much has been written recently in criticism of the kind of English used by officials. Sir Winston Churchill, as war-time Prime Minister, led the way. 'Why must you use "intensive" here? "Intense" is the right word. You should read Fowler's *Modern English Usage* on the use of the two words,' he wrote to the Director of Military Intelligence. In the midst of all his heavy responsibilities he paid close attention to the use of words for, as he wrote in a memorandum on the choice of a title for a military operation, 'An efficient and successful administration manifests itself equally in small as in great matters.'¹ After the war an eminent civil servant, Sir Ernest Gowers, gave officials much guidance and many warnings in a booklet entitled *Plain Words*. Business firms too have found it useful to issue guidance to help their staffs to write letters in plain and courteous terms.² Is this recent spate of criticism justified? Why is officialese so widely used? Why do office workers fall into the bad habit of using jargon instead of plain words?

It is not unfair to point out that they often work under pressure in efforts to avoid the long delays for which they are also criticized. Few letters can be drafted and revised at leisure; many have to be dictated, and the speed at which expert shorthand writers and recording machines can take dictation is a great temptation to administrators to be almost as slipshod and long-winded as we all are when we converse naturally and freely. When pressed for time, it is easy to fall into the habit of using

¹ *The Second World War*, Vol. V (Cassell, 1952), p. 583 and p. 615.

² See for example: *A Guide to the Writing of Business Letters* (British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education, London).

familiar words and phrases—jargon and clichés—without stopping to think what meaning, if any, they convey, or whether the intended meaning could be conveyed in simpler words more clearly and concisely, and perhaps more tactfully. The use of officialese is analogous to another office failing: that of making decisions according to familiar precedents recorded in well-worn files instead of thinking whether the problem is, in some sense, a new one demanding a new solution. Departing from precedent when using words or making decisions is hard, time-consuming work, and it is not surprising that administrators often fail when judged by the highest standards—seniors because they are hard pressed, juniors because they are not qualified or paid to take much responsibility. When, at the end of the day, dictated letters come to a senior official for signature, he often has to sign some, of which he may or may not be the author, although he is painfully conscious of their short-comings. If he is keenly interested in the art of communication he has to guard against becoming too fussy, for otherwise he may become unable to draft or dictate at a reasonable speed, he may hold up urgent work and be a continual source of irritation to his colleagues. Few writers, however careful they may be, can, in every detail, live up to the highest standards of gifted writers and expert critics;¹ in fact, the critics themselves sometimes slip, and on some of their recommendations there may be room for differences of opinion.

Criticism, informed by knowledge and insight, is indispensable in all walks of life, but it should be tempered with humility and charity. This is particularly true when the critics have relatively little practical experience, and recent experience, of the art they are criticizing. For example, as the years go by after examinations have been passed teachers spend a great deal of time marking and correcting the writing of others; they may

¹ It may interest, amuse and perhaps gratify some readers to look for examples of sub-standard English in this book.

become hard critics out of touch with practice. It is therefore a good plan for teachers, from time to time, to sit down and write an essay they have set for their pupils, or to write answers under examination conditions to a question paper they have set. Such discipline helps them to keep a lively sense of the difficulties of good writing, and may make a useful contribution to preserving good relationships not only with pupils but also with officials.

Few teachers have opportunities of learning by experience what office work is really like, and although administrators have all had some experience of schools its influence fades with the passage of time. In these circumstances imagination can be a valuable substitute for experience. When an official corresponds with a teacher, and *vice versa*, communication can be improved if each puts himself in imagination in the place of the person at the receiving end. The ideal is to write in such a way that the communication does not provoke a puzzled reply asking for elucidation or a pained reply complaining of lack of understanding or courtesy. The same principle applies to correspondence between teachers and parents for it is a mistake to think that teachers and administrators are in completely different categories; the successful running of a school today involves much administrative work, and however enlightened an authority may be in setting teachers free to teach by the provision of adequate secretarial assistance, teachers cannot help being part-time administrators although officially they are full-time teachers.

However much may be said in defence or condonation of the writing of officials, it does not absolve anyone from the need to strive to improve written communication. There is no excuse, for example, for the kind of English used in the following extract from a letter composed by an honours graduate in arts, a servant of a local education authority, and addressed to an eminent authority on the use of words:

It has been the practice of the Council in normal times to arrange year by year a comprehensive scheme of lectures for teachers with a view to enabling them so to enlarge their mental background as the better to equip themselves for their vocation, but, owing to exceptional conditions arising out of the war, this plan has lately been somewhat imperfectly realized. The Council has now decided, by concentrating on the more important lectures, to revive the scheme in a modified form which, while wider in scope than that until recently attempted, does not entirely equal in extent the ambit of a peace-time programme. With this in view, they hoped this year to provide among other lectures, one on 'WORDS', and in this connection I am to ask you if you will be good enough to undertake this service.

It is possible to be guilty of sub-literacy even when writing about literacy. For example:

'The quality of the entrants in respect of literacy is on the average, good especially in the case of girls.'

'A shortening in the length of the periods and an increase in their frequency would serve better the interests of learning English.'

It is possible to use many unnecessary words even when writing about economizing effort. For example:

'These rules, regarding the use of monies in establishments of every kind, aim not only to secure absolutely correct dealing with public funds, but also to reduce to reasonable proportions the amount of work entailed.'

Examples of official English, like those quoted, may not be typical but they are all too common. It is a sobering thought that English of this kind can be written by intelligent men and women who have spent many hours in school doing thousands of text-book exercises designed to teach them how language should be used. Whether we be teachers with some administrative duties, or administrators with some duties of com-

municating information, the use of words on paper for official communications is obviously a dangerous occupation. How can its hazards—fussiness on the one hand, carelessness on the other—be avoided?

One way, fundamentally important although it is indirect, is to read literature, the Bible for example, and continue to read it throughout life, for by this means we can lay and maintain a foundation of love for the grace and beauty of the English language. We do not expect or desire that this love will help us to transmute the ordinary prose of workaday communications into literature, but we may reasonably expect that it will have an unconscious influence and help us to avoid without fuss some of the grosser faults of official English. It will at least make us ready to learn when these faults are pointed out, and perhaps help us in our official writing to keep something of the simple and direct style of young children (see pp. 218-19). We shall then be able to cultivate, in a more direct and conscious way, the art of using words sensitively and precisely.

There is a third way of avoiding the danger of falling into habits of writing officialese. It is by cultivating a vivid sense of the value of people as persons, including awkward people whom we do not like and people whom we do not know personally; in other words by learning the lessons that this book is intended to teach. Without such a sense of values, administrators, parents and teachers can use even plain words in correspondence in such a way as to give unintended impressions and provoke unexpected reactions. There is much to be learnt from the well-known story of the head teacher who received a letter beginning, 'I am asked by my committee to instruct you . . .' to which he replied, 'I think you meant to write, "I am instructed by the Education Committee to ask you" . . .'

The Functions of Administrators

Parents may be forgiven for being sensitive, even over-sensitive, to the tone of letters from teachers and officials about their children, and it is understandable that teachers, whose relations with pupils are personal, should also be sensitive. The commonest complaints are about dictatorial letters and impersonal letters, and neither type can be defended. People without administrative experience may not however realize what a strong impersonal element there must be in much administrative work. Committee members and officials may on occasion disagree strongly with a decision, but once it has been made they must firmly put aside personal opinions and feelings—members as they wait patiently for an opportunity to raise the matter again, officials as they loyally carry out instructions. In such circumstances administrators must often control their feelings, suppress their sympathies and be reticent about expressing their thoughts; they must adopt a detached or relatively impersonal attitude and run the risk of being misunderstood by eager reformers. The value of a detached attitude on appropriate occasions is a hard lesson to learn, especially by teachers when their first serious contacts with administration come after years of experience of a very personal kind in situations where their word more often than not has been law. It is a very useful lesson, for once learnt it saves much unnecessary and wearisome heartburning. Full-time administrators may however become so detached that they become impersonal. Their hearts never burn; they love rules and precedents, and they adopt such an impersonal attitude to their work that they almost forget that their letters are going to be read, not by 'school personnel' or 'staff units,' but by real people. This exaggerated emphasis on an attitude which within reason is necessary is at the root of many of the failings in human communication. It is responsible for the coining of words like 'personnel', now loved by many who work in offices. New recruits

feel a special pride in using them, for they take them as a sign that their new job is strange and fascinating. And yet, to quote from an article on the word 'personnel' in *The Times* (15 February 1947):

It is possible, just possible, that a more degrading, a more ill-favoured synonym for two or more members of the human race has at one time or another been coined, but, if it has, it has never gained the ubiquitous and tyrannical currency of this alien collective. Personnel, though in theory they are men and women, have only to be called personnel to lose their full status as human beings. They do not go, they proceed. . . . They do not ask, they make application for. . . . Once they either kept things or gave them up; now they must retain or surrender them. . . . They cannot eat, they can only consume; they perform ablutions; instead of homes they have place(s) of residence in which, instead of living, they are domiciled.

If it be true that some administrators cultivate administrative sense to such a degree that they become impersonal, it is also true that in a large service there will almost certainly be some elected members, governors and teachers who in their relationships with officials seem to be unable or unwilling to cultivate administrative sense even of the moderate kind we have suggested. They are awkward, and they give officials much unnecessary work. But they keep officials on their toes, and on balance they are useful, provided their enthusiasm is tempered by good humour and not poisoned by malice. Fortunately for the peace of mind of committee chairmen and officials they are as a rule only a small minority.

There is a place, too, for administrators who have the professional knowledge, courage and initiative to challenge what is, and the wisdom to choose opportune times and occasions for these departures from the path of pure administration. Elected members decide the main questions of policy but teachers' representatives and senior officials have some respons-

ibility for trying to guide them—restraining here and stimulating there—according to the educational faith that is in them. One of the functions of officials is that of guiding committees in the difficult task of holding a delicate balance between the conflicting claims of a desire for educational progress and a need for economy in man-power and finance. Those who work in schools do not always appreciate that unless educational administrators perform this task in a spirit of realism, the balance may be heavily weighted against them by the intervention of administrative officers with other responsibilities—for example, establishment and finance officers.

By their nature, education services are subject to internal strains which tend to break them into separate parts—the schools where the real work of education is done and the offices where the administrative machine must be kept working smoothly. If an atmosphere of mutual confidence can be established, two results may follow: administrators, recognizing that they exist only to minister to the needs of schools, will be better able to resist the temptation to elaborate administrative routine unnecessarily; teachers, recognizing that a minimum administrative routine is necessary, will accept and appreciate it. A very similar problem occurs in classrooms where a wise balance must be kept between creative and routine activities.

We have suggested two main methods of cultivating personal relationships in a large service: the method of meeting in representative groups for conversation, conference, consultation and discussion; and the method of good written communication. Nothing however can be a satisfactory substitute for face-to-face meetings of just two persons from different sections of the service. Visits to schools by parents, committee members, governors, administrators and inspectors are so important that, despite the time they consume, they should be welcomed or at least tolerated. For the same reason, there is much to be said for administrators making themselves accessible to teachers,

and in order to save the time of education officers, head teachers, when they are in difficulties, should get into touch in the first place with the administrators who are actually dealing with the details of their problems. By a combination of all these methods it is possible to create a spirit of cordial partnership throughout the whole service.

The Functions of Inspectors

Inspectors—Her Majesty's inspectors for the service as a whole, local inspectors for local services—have valuable parts to play in this process of communication for they can act as liaison officers between schools and offices. This aspect of the work of inspectors is often overlooked because their primary function is by tradition that of inspecting, criticizing and reporting. The inspectorial sections of the education service grew from the need of ensuring that public money is used economically and efficiently. At one time inspectors made routine annual reports on every school, but today they make fuller reports at longer intervals. With the gradual evolution of a well-qualified, and perhaps ultimately a self-governing, teaching profession the work of inspectors is rightly losing its somewhat 'authoritarian, even inquisitorial cast'—a development that is paralleled in other spheres: in examining, where the emphasis is shifting from an external inquisition to an internal stock-taking; in 'headmastering', where the need today is for democratic leadership and not autocratic dictation; in teaching, which today is the art of fostering creative activity and not merely the task of instructing and testing.

An inspector today is not only an investigator looking into schools in order to ask questions, assess and criticize; he is a collaborator seeking to be constructive. His main function is to talk things over in order to facilitate the process of discovering jointly the law of the total situation which everyone concerned must obey if there is to be real freedom in the service. Some of

the problems he investigates may have administrative bearings, and the results of his discussions in schools and office are useful to the administration he serves; the laws, when discovered, may demand the obedience of teachers and—a fact that often passes unrecognized—the obedience of committees and administrators. In the pursuit of freedom it is not only children who have to learn the value of discipline, of being wisely obedient. Some general situations, such as the present need for more scientists and technologists, may need widespread investigation by inspectors, committees of industrial and educational experts, administrators and finally by the Minister in consultation with Parliament; the laws of such general situations, revealed more or less perfectly by this long process, then demand obedience by many people—ultimately by the Minister himself.

Most of the problems an inspector investigates are more limited and more narrowly educational; they concern particular schools and classrooms, head teachers and class teachers. The principles governing this part of his work are nevertheless exactly the same. He is a consultant talking things over in order to discover the law, and not a dictator laying it down. He performs very much the same function as the consultants often called in and paid high fees by industrial firms seeking to increase productivity. There is, of course, sometimes an element of criticism in a consultant's conversations, but unless the situation is exceptional an inspector's criticism is tentative rather than dogmatic.

Many people have a wrong attitude to criticism: some are always ready to accept it timidly; others to reject it angrily. They have not reached that state of security which enables them to listen without eagerly interrupting either to assent or dispute; the state of maturity which enables them to consider and discuss criticism without fear or passion. All the great arts have their critics, and although criticism is sometimes ill-informed and to some people nearly always irritating, most

authors and artists agree that criticism can be helpful. The same is true of the art of teaching but with this difference: all inspector critics have been practitioners of the art—often eminently successful practitioners. Their criticism ought not therefore to be ill-informed. It need not, either, be irritating; much depends on how it is given, and, equally important, on how it is taken. An inspector-consultant is a helpful, friendly critic and a cross-fertilizer of ideas. Privileged to observe the work of many teachers, he collects ideas from many schools and with discretion gives his own. He encourages initiative, provokes thought and disturbs unthinking routine. He has other multifarious duties: he helps to strengthen the weak, to encourage the timid and to compose differences; he collects information for administrators that they cannot obtain by telephone; he is a scout looking for talent and an organizer of conferences and exhibitions. He is a subject specialist, but above all an ideal inspector, like an ideal teacher, is something of a philosopher accustomed to reflect occasionally on the meanings and purposes of life and education. His philosophy, fortified by wide experience, helps him to talk over with teachers their problems, doubts and irritations—calmly, patiently and humbly. His function is not ‘to illumine mountains of difficulty’ but to help to move them. As a philosopher-consultant he can help teachers to see the real significance of many of the wise but often apparently trivial things they are doing every day almost intuitively; he can help them to keep their vision of the far-reaching possibilities of education in the classroom. To give two examples: one inspector has started many a disconsolate teacher thinking hopefully by his favourite remark, ‘What the wood does to the boy is even more important than what the boy does to the wood’; another inspector, Marion Richardson, by inspiring teachers to believe in the wonderful creative power of children, injected potent pieces of leaven into many London classrooms in the 1930s, and the

leaven is now working in many schools all over the world, and not only in the teaching of art.

An inspector-consultant, seeing the education service as a whole, is able in informal conversations to give teachers and administrators some insight into one another's work. A small team of inspectors, each member an educational as well as a subject specialist, can give teachers much stimulating help. This fact is recognized in the teaching profession, and it is not unknown for schools, including independent schools, to ask for an inspection and report. Copies of inspectors' reports are sent not only to the school but also to governors and education committees. Some parts of the reports deal with administrative questions, and call for discussion and action on such matters as improvements to buildings and equipment. Other parts are for the consideration of the teaching staff. They consist of technical criticisms and suggestions on teaching methods, curriculum and school organization, and are not suitable for critical discussion and decisions by laymen although, given good human relationships, lay comments may be acceptable and useful. So long as inspectors' reports are treated as confidential documents by all laymen who have access to them, and so long as laymen show proper humility when talking about the strictly professional parts, there is much to be said in favour of the present practice. A good educational policy (it is often mis-called a generous policy), at the national and local levels, depends on an informed appreciation by politicians of what teachers are doing and of what they are anxious to do. No channel of communication, official or informal, should be neglected. By means of his reports an inspector gives governors and committees some deeper insight into the importance of education and into the devotion and difficulties of teachers; he thus helps to prepare the way for administrative reforms.

To sum up, inspectors perform functions that can be of great value to teachers and the whole service of education. They help

to knit together schools and office into an educational community. Their visits to schools should therefore be welcomed (as they generally are today), and not feared (as they used to be). The title 'inspector' in its customary sense is out of date. From time to time, it has been suggested that it ought to be changed: to 'officer'—a person who performs a service—to 'adviser', 'organizer', or, following the practice of the United States, to 'superintendent' or 'consultant'. None of these titles is altogether satisfactory. It seems likely therefore that the title 'inspector' will continue to be used in characteristic British fashion as an honourable term of art. Of all the possible alternatives it is the only title that has the merit of being fully comprehensive in relation to all the different functions of an education inspector, for he cannot begin to do any part of his work—advising, consulting, criticizing, encouraging, giving educational leadership, organizing, promoting personal relationships, superintending—until he has inspected, that is, 'looked into' schools.

Partnership in the Education Service

The education service is an association of partners, and ideally all the characteristics of a true community (see pp. 118-20) should permeate the service as a whole and all its parts. At whatever point we examine it, we should find human beings freely co-operating in the service of something greater than self-interest. Such a service cannot be built by external authority; it is a growing organism and the functions of its managing authorities are not moulding and building but rather tending and pruning. Its growing points are pupils and teachers, classes and schools, freely living lives of their own. This idea should inspire all who work in education offices just as it should inspire the work of all teachers in schools. In the face of an authoritarian tradition, progress is not easy. But much has already been done. Many a class, at all three stages of educa-

tion, is in essence an autonomous association of persons, teacher and pupils talking over their problems as co-workers eager to learn from one another; the atmosphere is charged by feelings of respect and friendliness, and there is a 'two-way flow of deference and appreciation'; everyone is free from fear, free to be creative, free to make mistakes. The teacher has not abdicated; he knows intuitively when to intervene, and as the relationships are personal, the pupils encourage him to do so; they often spontaneously defer to his wider knowledge and appeal to him for help and leadership. The same kind of picture could be painted of many a school and education office, and of the relationships between teachers, committee members, governors and officials. When these relationships are personal the service as a whole, however large it may be, is on the way towards growing into the kind of community we have described, for all the cells of which it is composed have a similar structure whatever their special functions may be.

The Size of Human Institutions

As J. B. S. Haldane has pointed out in his essay 'On Being the Right Size'¹ there is a best size for every animal, and the same is true for every human institution. Judged by standards of efficiency large institutions have important advantages, and the modern trend is towards making them larger. For example: the Education Act of 1944 increased the size of local education authorities by reducing their number from 317 to 146, presumably because efficient management was believed to be more practicable and economical in the larger units; there is also a trend towards making training colleges and secondary schools larger so that they may be able to offer a wider range of opportunities to their pupils. For, as P. F. Drucker says of industry, 'Bigness is not the cause of the management problem,' but rather 'an effect of the need of management'. But there is a

¹ *Possible Worlds* (Chatto and Windus, 1927).

limit of bigness which, if exceeded, increases the risk of breakdown. The limit is not however absolute; it is relative to the structure of the organism or institution.

Large institutions can be successful—human and efficient—if their cell structure is homogeneous. Relationships must be personal throughout: in a large school, between teachers and pupils and between the head teacher and the staff; in a local education service, between elected members, administrators, and teachers; in the national education service, between those who work in the Department of Education, the local offices and the schools. Only on such foundations can the Secretary create a national service that is unified but not uniform, and be free from the necessity of using his power of direction—the least valuable and the most dangerous of all kinds of influence, and one that is the very negation of true education. The normal function of the Secretary and his Department is not to direct but, in the words of Sir John Maud, ‘to supplement, financially and professionally, the best educational effort that the local community can make’. Exactly the same is true of the functions of local education authorities in their relationships with the schools in their areas.

The Growing Points of the Education Service

A widely-held conviction among those in authority that the innumerable meetings of teacher and pupil are the growing points, the most important features in an education service, has many valuable results. It helps to dissipate any feelings of condescension to which those in authority may be tempted: teachers towards pupils, head teachers towards staff, committee members and headquarters staff towards teachers, the Ministry towards local education authorities and teachers. It helps everyone to see ideas of delegation and decentralization in a new light. The idea of decentralization, in an education service as in a large industrial enterprise, has been indispensable in

former stages of social evolution. It is still useful, but we are beginning to see that it is not enough because the service contains, not one, but many centres. As P. F. Drucker¹ has argued, a new principle of management, which he calls federalism, is needed. The education service is a partnership of institutions, each partner enjoying its own autonomy derived, not from a benevolent delegation of authority, but from its own nature. Each unit (class, school, governing body, divisional executive, county authority, national authority) is then 'the balance wheel of the other and keeps it going on a true course'. This mechanical metaphor, useful though it is, is not wholly satisfactory, for the service is really a partnership of persons rather than of institutions, and it is the persons in the various groups co-operating with one another who keep education going—on the best course they can devise from time to time. For full success, individual professional competence is needed but by itself it is not enough; the partners must be in personal relationships with one another, and this in turn depends on good human communication.

It is possible to get a much clearer and more inspiring picture of a classroom community than of a large community serving the education of a nation. But the essential, ideal nature of the education service is not on that account any less real. All communities, small and large, are in essence similar; they are analogous to human families. Human beings know that it is good to belong to them; in some mysterious way they feel that they count as persons even though the community may be very large. That is what teachers mean when they say that a particular authority is a good one in which to serve.

SUMMARY

It is not possible to give a satisfactory summary of the educational arrangements in Britain, for they are not a planned

¹ *The New Society* (Heinemann, 1951), pp. 247-57.

system but a varied service that has grown from many roots. The service is a loose organization of many parts but it has one underlying aim: to bring about truly personal meetings between individual teachers and individual pupils.

The broad lines of educational policy are decided by Parliament. This policy is executed for the most part by local education authorities, the County Councils, under the control and, if necessary, the direction of the Minister responsible for education (in Scotland, of the Secretary of State for Scotland).

Administrators (civil servants in the Department of Education and officials in county education offices) minister to the needs of teachers.

There are two inspectorates: Her Majesty's inspectors and local inspectors. One of their most valuable functions is to act as liaison officers between schools and offices.

Ideally, the education service as a whole should be a true community. This is possible in proportion as it is a community of school and office communities so that, at whatever point its nature is examined—in classrooms, schools, governing bodies, education committees, local and central government offices—the characteristics of community life are to be found. That is to say, all the different persons concerned—pupils, parents, teachers, head teachers, principals, ancillary workers, governors, members of County Councils and Parliament, administrators, inspectors—will be found respecting one another because they realize that everyone is a person. They will be found to have a sense of high purpose, a sense of spiritual as well as of material values, an appreciation that they are all partners in an important service; they will be found to have a lively appreciation of the value of free participation—consultation and discussion in committees and conferences, and between individuals; and they will be found to have an awareness of the value, in appropriate circumstances, of diversity, change, leadership, and authority.

The development and diffusion of these qualities are essential

to the growth of wisdom in the education service. Much depends on making communication, both written and oral, as good as possible, for communication is at the root of the problem of cultivating personal relationships which are the foundation of true community life.

FOR FURTHER READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

A Report and Statistics of Education, issued annually by the Department of Education (H.M.S.O.); *A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales*, Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 2 (H.M.S.O., 1945); *Education in Great Britain*, W. O. Lester Smith (Oxford Univ. Press, 1949); *The English Educational System*, G. A. N. Lowndes (Hutchinson, 1960); *Servant of the County*, Margaret Cole (Dobson, 1956).

The following books will be found useful by all who are interested in improving the art of written communication:

The Complete Plain Words, Sir Ernest Gowers (H.M.S.O., 1954); *Modern English Usage*, H. W. Fowler (Oxford Univ. Press, 1st ed., 1926); *Usage and Abuse*, E. Partridge (Hamish Hamilton, 1948).

'The true justification for such a book [*Plain Words*] is not so much that official English is specially bad as that it is specially important for it to be good. The efficiency of government, central and local, depends to an ever-increasing extent on the ability of a large number of officials to express themselves clearly.' Sir Ernest Gowers, *Plain Words*.

Discussion topics. 1. *The object of educational administration.* 'To enable the right pupils to receive the right education from the right teachers, at a cost within the means of the State, under conditions which will enable the pupils best to profit by their training.' Sir Graham Balfour, *Educational Administration*.

'The Greeks had a proverb: "Office shows the man." *Office*, not power; and office, by derivation, is a sort of service; a dictator does not "hold office".' Sir Carleton Allen, *Democracy and the Individual*.

2. *The work of administrators.* Work in offices is done at many levels from routine clerical work to creative administrative work, and we usually associate administrators with offices. But much administrative work has to be done in schools as well as in business and education offices; most of the

ideas embodied in the quotations relating to administration, centralization, communication and criticism should therefore be applied to head teachers in their studies and to teachers in their classrooms as well as to administrators and inspectors.

'Most administrative problems must be settled in terms of a balance of the demands of various principles. . . . When a single principle is carried to its logical conclusion the result is often absurd. . . . The person who sees judgment as a resolution of forces does not often experience the frustration of compromise. For him it is not compromise; it is a balanced judgment.' P. R. Mort, *Principles of School Administration*.

'Administration has to play a rather narrow fairway between arbitrarily exercised discretionary powers and too rigidly applied uniform rules. When the ball falls in one of the roughs, it is generally cast out unceremoniously and too often lands in the other rough.' P. R. Mort, *op. cit.*

'A man should have just as much, no more and no less, responsibility as goes with his function or his task. He should have just as much, no more and no less, authority as goes with his responsibility. Function, responsibility and authority should be the three inseparables in business organization. . . . If, then, authority and responsibility are derived from function, they have little to do with the hierarchy of position.' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

'The initiation of ventures calls for a progressive and creative type of personality, while the administration of ventures, once firmly established, calls for an orderly and conservative type of personality. . . . We often find a conflict within the factory between the department which has been made responsible for initiation and the administrators, who want to go on doing things the same way: the research departments are always upsetting the order the latter have carefully established.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

'The administrator who tries to substitute amiability for definite planning in questions of organization will find sooner rather than later that "the personal touch" issues in an epidemic of personal touchiness.' L. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration*.

'Lack of courage to delegate properly and of knowledge how to do it is one of the most general causes of failure in organization.' L. Urwick, *op. cit.*

The bureaucrats, with their desire to simplify administrative problems, are happiest when persons can be treated as cyphers. But it is the individual who is the moving force of history, the source of all values, the unit of every social aggregate, the very life of society's otherwise mechanical organization.' Lewis Way, *Man's Quest for Significance*.

3. *The dangers of over-centralization.* 'People like simple ideas and are right to like them. Unfortunately the simplicity they seek is only to be found in elementary things ; and the world, society and man are made up of insoluble problems, contrary principles and conflicting forces. . . . The centralist system is all very well as regards size, simplicity and construction ; it lacks but one thing—the individual no longer belongs to himself in such a system, he cannot feel his worth, his life and no account is taken of him at all.' P. J. Proudhon, *Theory of Taxation* (1861), quoted by M. Buber, *Paths in Utopia*.

'Where a centralized authority undertakes to make plans for an entire society, it is compelled by the bewildering complexity of the given facts to follow the example of the scientific experimenter who arbitrarily simplifies his problem in order to make it manageable. . . . When applied to problems of human society the process of simplification is a process, inevitably, of restraint and regimentation, and of curtailment of liberty and denial of individual rights.' Aldous Huxley, *Science, Liberty and Peace*.

'The tendency of the highly-centralized concern is "to produce apoplexy at the top and anaemia a short distance below".' Sir Frederick Hooper, *Management Survey*.

'I am for those tiny, invisible, molecular forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like capillary oozing of water, yet which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride.' William James.

4. *Pressure of work.* 'Parkinson's Law: Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion. General recognition of this fact is shown in the proverbial phrase "It is the busiest man who has time to spare".' C. N. Parkinson, *Parkinson's Law*.

'Work is done best when there is rather too much work to do and rather too short a time in which to do it. A department is most likely to be efficient when it is slightly (but only slightly) undermanned.' Lord Strang, *Home and Abroad*.

5. *Communication.* 'Social study should begin with careful observation of what may be described as communication ; that is, the capacity of an individual to communicate his feelings and ideas to another, the capacity of groups to communicate effectively and intimately with each other. The problem is, beyond all reasonable doubt, the outstanding defect that civilization is facing today.' Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.

'Lack of verbal skill is as serious for the manager as lack of muscular co-ordination for the manual worker.' G. R. Taylor, *Are Workers Human?*

'Busy administrators, in spite of all their sincerity, often fail to clarify—and one way to defer to the personality of another is to make clear to him what is going on. . . . In a democratic society we are concerned about the flow of appreciation, of clarification, of consultation—for these are the specifics of deference.' H. D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behaviour*.

'Production efficiency is always in danger of being affected whenever the long-distance order is substituted for the face-to-face suggestion.' M. P. Follett, *Dynamic Administration*.

6. *The work of inspectors.* 'To anyone interested in education there can be no greater privilege than the right of entry into our schools. . . . From my very first visit the teachers welcomed me most warmly and helped me to forget the horrid title of my office (inspector). They wanted to explore and experiment and they seemed to guess that I wanted to do the same.' Marion Richardson, *Art and the Child*.

7. *Criticism.* 'It is surprising how rarely we offer encouragement to somebody doing his best. Criticism is so much easier, and makes us feel so much more superior.' W. H. Elliott, *Undiscovered Ends*.

'Expressions of appreciation are among the most rudimentary, yet important, ways of contributing to the self-respect of deserving people.' H. D. Lasswell, *op. cit.*

'It is right to teach the pupil to criticize but it is even more important to train him concurrently to admire. . . . The over-critical mood is even more disastrous than uncritical credulity. It is blind to ignore the evil and suffering in the world or the follies, failures and crimes of man; but it is equally blind to ignore his great creations, his splendid achievements, his shining virtues. They are just as real and far more important.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Some Tasks for Education*.

'Criticism of their immature work is bad for children. It gives them a kind of mental stammer in writing; they pause in the act, and wonder what Miss So-and-so will think; and that is death to all live expression.' Anne Treneer, *Cornish Years*.

'If anyone has been able to compare the first-rate with the second-rate, his criticism will not be merely bitter and barren, but creative, born of a vision perceiving the good, dominated by it and desiring to bring it to birth.' Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*.

'Teachers who are playing their part in broadly conceived participation plans will recognize that it calls upon them to do the creative thinking of

the inventor, not solely the critical thinking of the analyst.' P. R. Mort, *Principles of School Administration*.

'It has been said that England invented the phrase "Her Majesty's Opposition"; that it was the first government which made a criticism of administration as much a part of the polity as administration itself.' Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*.

8. *Red tape and bureaucracy*. 'I cannot conceive that any body, catering for even the smallest or most limited section of the population, can avoid having Rules. . . . Very often the cause of what are supposed to be shocking cases of "red tape" is not "red tape", i.e. sticking to rules at all, but the simple failure of the human element. . . . Anyone who expects that all the employees of . . . any county . . . are miracles of tact is a starry-eyed Utopian, to be compared with those who plan a top-to-bottom reconstruction of State schools and schooling on the assumption that the services of some three hundred thousand archangels can be commanded at the remuneration which we as a nation offer to school-teachers.' Margaret Cole, *Servant of the County*.

'An organisation belongs on the sick list when promotion becomes more important to its people than accomplishment in the job they are in. It is sick when it is more concerned with avoiding mistakes than with taking the right risks, with counteracting the weakness of its members rather than with building up their strength.' P. F. Drucker, *The Landmarks of Tomorrow*.

9. *Grievances*. 'Shaw never nursed a grievance: a man with a grievance, he told one of them, was a nuisance in direct proportion to its justice and sincerity, and if he were wise he would take care to drop it the moment he found that redress was impossible.' Blanche Patch, *Thirty Years with G.B.S.*

'In the long life before you, you will have many successes, I hope, but some failures for sure. May you learn in your youth something which I am only now perceiving in my old age. It is this; simply this; there need be no such thing as real failure, because its acceptance is success,' Ernest Raymond, *Mr. Olim*.

EPILOGUE

THE central idea running through this book is that people have great potentialities for rising above the level of animals, for transcending their animal nature and becoming persons. The true aim of education is to help each individual to realize his potentialities, and so to grow into a person to the fullest extent of which he is capable. This aim is consciously pursued in institutions, like schools and colleges, which are specially organized for educational purposes. Its achievement may also be helped, and sometimes hindered, by the everyday experiences of living as members of society and of the various groups to which people belong outside schools and colleges.

The way to educate people is to treat them, as far as possible, as if they were what we believe they ought to be, in the faith that they will respond in the same spirit. They should be treated as persons. That is to say, they should be given opportunities to be themselves, to participate freely in community and group affairs, to express their creative spirit, to exercise freedoms of many kinds, to absorb the best elements of the culture into which they are born. In this educational process they will learn many lessons: the value of truth and knowledge, beauty and goodness; the value of routine and repetition; the satisfaction of entering into personal relationships; the value of leadership and followership. They will acquire self-discipline—the ability to recognize genuine authorities and the willingness to submit to them. They will learn what it really means to be equal and free, and they will learn how to use their freedom wisely.

Every individual should be accorded, in society generally and in social and educational institutions, the dignity, rights and

status that belong to him because he is a human being and not a chattel or an animal. We know from our own experience and from observing the behaviour of others that this is the way, not only to help people to see that they have responsibilities and duties to the community, but also to inspire them to give it willing service.

This is the principle on which life and education is based in true communities of all sizes, for example, in families, churches, schools and democratic states. It is the principle that twentieth-century man, shocked by the gross inhumanity of world wars and their aftermath, is trying to put into practice on the largest possible scale in the United Nations.

For the first time in history, the tribes and nations have a means of entering into an active partnership as wide and unrestricted as the planet itself. Universal fellowship, which the higher religions conceived for many millenniums as mankind's destiny, now has become technically feasible as well as ideally conceivable: to seal that promise with acts of political and economic co-operation on a world-wide scale has likewise become a practical imperative. . . .

The promise before us is plain: a planetary interchange, not merely of goods but of people, not merely of knowledge but of ideas, values, ideals, scientific discoveries, religious insights, patterns of life. . . . The greater number of men, in every historic civilization, have lived only partial, fragmentary lives, beset by anxiety, limited in understanding and action, confined mainly to the surface of their meagre acres and even narrower boundaries set by their own skins: lives not yet human except by promise and intention. Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life*.

The vision is one of world partnership. The possibility of success depends on the kind of persons into which people grow: ultimately it depends therefore on education, and to an important extent on the experiences of individual pupils and students in classrooms. A teacher's influence should thus be thought of as one that may spread in widening circles in space and time:

beginning now as an influence on the growth of individuals in his classroom, it may end in time as an influence on the growth of partnership on a world-wide scale.

On 10 December 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations passed and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was an historic act. The Assembly called upon all member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and 'to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on political status of countries or territories. The Declaration, reproduced here, is informed by many of the same ideas as those expounded in this book.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations among nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge,

Now therefore

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1 All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2 (1) Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

(2) Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether this territory be an independent, Trust, Non-Self-Governing territory, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

Article 4 No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5 No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6 Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7 All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8 Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10 Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11 (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14 (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15 (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16 (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17 (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18 Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19 Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21 (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22 Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23 (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24 Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25 (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sick-

ness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26 (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27 (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28 Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29 (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights

and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30 Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FOR READING, CONTEMPLATION, CONVERSATION, DISCUSSION

1. *The problem of human values.* 'The problem of values arises only when men try to fit together their need to be social animals with their need to be free men. There is no problem, and there are no values, until men want to do both. . . .

'The values by which we are to survive are not rules for just and unjust conduct, but are those deeper illuminations in whose light justice and injustice, good and evil, means and ends are seen in fearful sharpness of outline.' J. Bronowski, *Science and Human Values*.

2. *Symbols: bridges and barriers.* Symbols (e.g. art, myth, ritual, words) are bridges, 'necessary instruments of human knowledge of the independent world,' but they are barriers if 'they become substitutes for the reality they are attempting to symbolize. . . . The word "God" by itself solves no problems.

'Religion has many "languages"—of poetry and drama, of myth, of ritual, of concepts, of history; there is even a "language" (in a sense) of personal *being*. These are constantly overlapping. They are on the one hand expressions of man's attempts to state his ideas of divine things and their revelations and on the other to embody—sometimes in very strange forms—his sense of the unfathomable mystery of the divine.' L. A. Reid, *Ways of Knowledge and Experience*.

'There is no inherent wisdom in language. . . . We have completely to throw overboard any meek acquiescence in dictionary meanings, in the dictates of epigram, metaphor and linguistic vagary.' B. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*.

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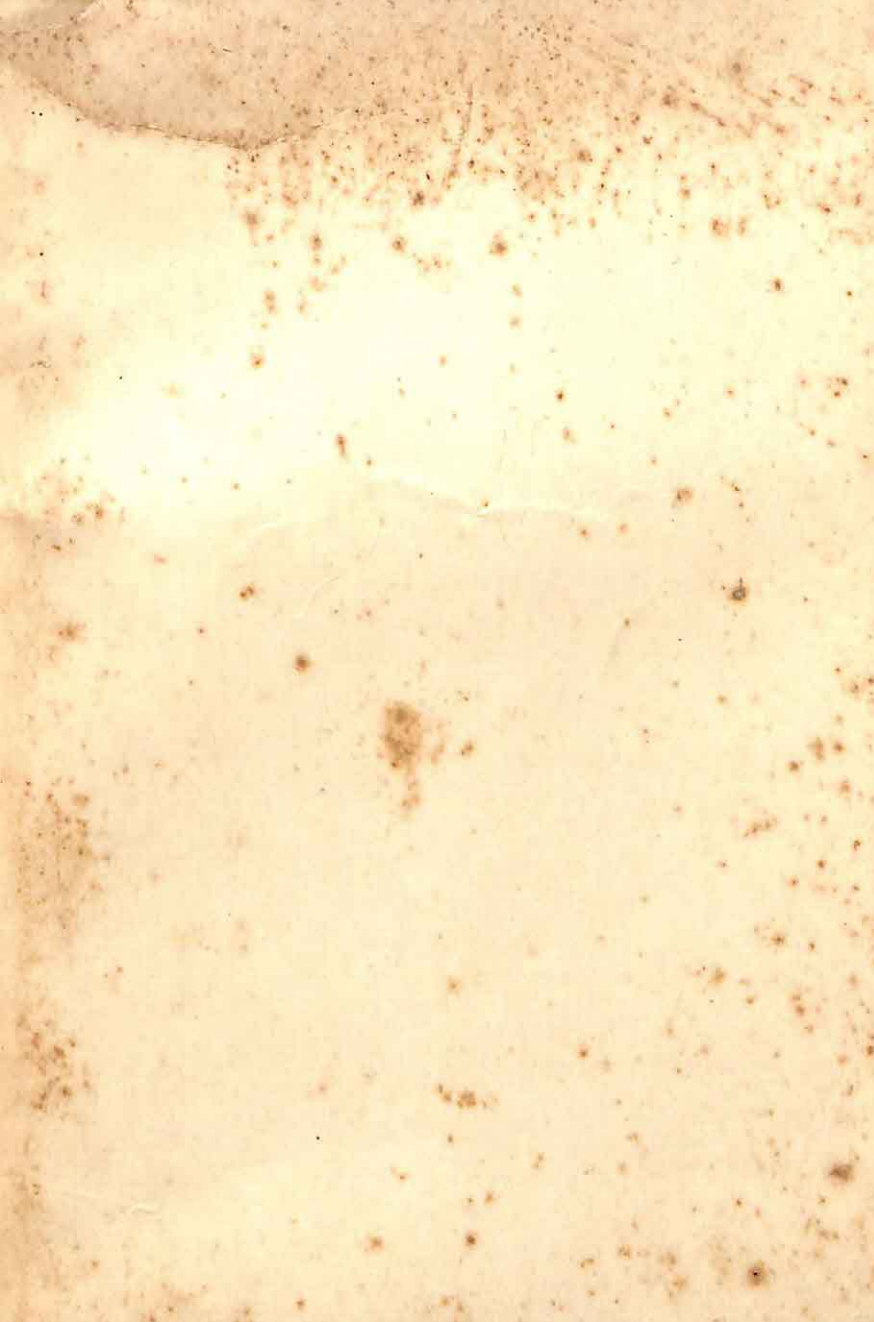
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